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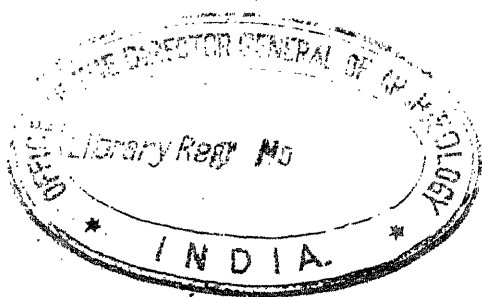
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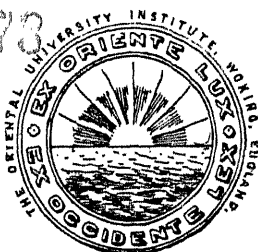




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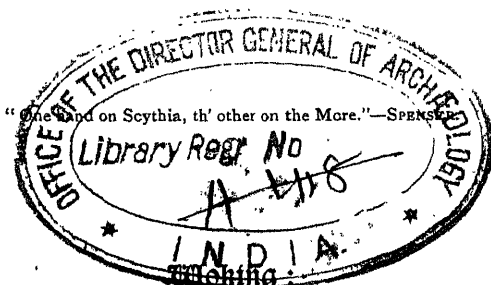
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**CONTENTS.**

|  | PAGE     |
|--|----------|
| FAMINE FACTS AND FALLACIES. By J. D. Rees, C.I.E. . . . .  | 1        |
| PREVENTION OF FAMINE IN INDIA. By L. C. Innes . . . . .  | 33       |
| AGRICOLA REDIVIVUS. By S. S. Thorburn, late Financial Commis-<br>sioner, Punjab . . . . .  | 52       |
| THE INDIAN BORDERLAND. By an old Punjabi . . . . .   | 79       |
| THE CONGO FREE STATE. By H. R. Fox Bourne. . . . .   | 86       |
| SINGHALESE LITERATURE. By R. G. Corbet . . . . .   | 101      |
| THE FALSE PHILONIAN LOGOS. By Professor Lawrence Mills . . . . .   | 109      |
| A HISTORY OF THE FRENCH MISSIONS TO SIAM. By Pinya . . . . .   | 120      |
| THE OMAYYADS AND THE EASTERN EMPIRE. By S. Khuda<br>Bukhsb, M.A., B.C.L. . . . .   | 134      |
| MARCO POLO'S TANGUT. By E. H. Parker . . . . .   | 156      |
| PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION . . . . .  | 180, 387 |
| THE FAMINE IN INDIA, 1899-1900. No. II. By Sir Charles Elliott,<br>K.C.S.I., LL.D. . . . .   | 229      |
| RECENT JUDICIAL DEVELOPMENTS IN INDIA. By D. C. John-<br>stone, I.C.S. . . . .   | 260      |
| BANKING IN INDIA. By H. D. Macleod . . . . .   | 281      |
| A SPECIAL MISSION TO MOROCCO. By Professor Dr. E. Montet . . . . .   | 306      |
| EXPLORATIONS AT SUSA. By W. St. Chad Boscawen. . . . .   | 330      |
| QUARTERLY REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM.<br>By Professor Dr. E. Montet . . . . .   | 357      |
| A JESUIT UPON CHINA. By E. H. Parker . . . . .   | 362      |
| JAPANESE MONOGRAPHS—VIII. TANABATA-NO-SEKKU. FESTI-<br>VAL OF THE WEAVING PRINCESS. By C. M. Salwey . . . . .  | 382      |
| CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, ETC. . . . .  | 188, 403 |
| The New Province of the North-West Frontier of India.—Historical<br>Indian Famines.—“Indian Famine Facts and Fallacies.”—The<br>Emancipation and Elevation of Egyptian Women.—Zanzibar and<br>Pemba.—The Condition of India and its People.—Queen Victoria<br>Memorial, Calcutta.—The Todas and the Census.—Lord Cromer<br>on Egypt.—Native Languages and English Officials in Africa.—<br>Scheme for an Inquiry concerning Islāmism.—The Australian<br>Commonwealth.—A China Exhibition in London.—China in the<br>Future . . . . .   | 188—202  |
| Sir Arthur Cotton as an Agricultural Reformer.—The Prevention of<br>Famine in India.—Common Salt as a Preventive of Cholera and<br>Plague in India.—Affairs in China, British and Chinese.—The<br>Indian Contingent in China and the Plague in India.—The New<br>Policy in Waziristan.—The Plague in India.—India : Accounts and<br>Estimate, 1901-1902.—Cultivation of Indigo in India.—Irrigation<br>on the Upper Nile.—Crop and Plant cultivation in the British<br>Empire.—The Livingstone College and Health Bureau.—The<br>“Ouseley” Scholarships, 1901-1902 . . . . . | 403—412  |

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES

PAGE

203, 413.

Mount Omi and Beyond : a Record of Travel on the Thibetan Border, by Archibald John Little, F.R.G.S., author of "Through the Yangtse Gorges," etc.—General Sir Arthur Cotton, R.E., K.C.S.I. : his Life and Work.—The History of South Africa, by the Hon. A. Wilmot, K.S.G., F.R.G.S., Member of the Legislative Council of the Cape Colony, etc.—British America.—Palestine in Geography and in History, by Arthur William Cooke, M.A.; Vols. I. and II.—A Malay-English Dictionary, by R. J. Wilkinson, Straits Settlements Civil Service; Part I. (Alif to Za).—The Law and Policy of Annexation, with Special Reference to the Philippines, together with Observations on the Status of Cuba, by Carman F. Randolph, of the New York Bar, author of "The Law of Eminent Domain."—A History of Ottoman Poetry, by E. J. W. Gibb, M.R.A.S., Vol. I.—A Year in China, 1899-1900, with some Account of Admiral Sir E. Seymour's Expedition, by Clive Bigham, C.M.G., with illustrations and maps.—Modern Abyssinia, by Augustus B. Wylde, late Vice-Consul for the Red Sea, author of "'83 to '87 in the Soudan."—Abyssinia : through the Lion-land to the Court of the Lion of Judah, by Herbert Vivian, M.A., author of "Tunisia and the Modern Barbary Pirates," "Serbia : the Poor Man's Paradise," etc.—The Rubā'iyat of Omar Khayyam, translated by Edward Fitzgerald, with a commentary by H. M. Batson and a biographical introduction by E. D. Ross.—Leading Points in South African History, 1486 to March 30, 1900, arranged chronologically with date-index, by Edwin A. Pratt, author of "Pioneer Women in Victoria's Reign," "Life of Catherine Gladstone," etc.—The Order of Isis : a Story of Mystery and Adventure in Egypt, by James Bagnall-Stubbs, author of "Ora pro Nobis," etc.—British Power and Thought : a Historical Inquiry, by the Hon. Albert S. G. Canning, author of "British Rule in Modern Politics," "History in Fact and Fiction," etc.

203—215

Elements of the Jewish and Muhammadan Calenders, by the Rev. S. B. Burnaby, M.A.—Cassell's History of the Boer War, 1899-1901, by Richard Davies.—Studia Sinaitica. No. VIII. : Apocrypha Arabica, edited and translated into English by Margaret Dunlop Gibson, LL.D., M.R.A.S.—Asia and Europe : Studies Presenting the Conclusions formed by the Author in a long Life devoted to the Subject of the Relations between Asia and Europe, by Meredith Townsend.—Ancient India, as described in Classical Literature. Translated and copiously annotated by J. W. McCrindle, M.A., LL.D., M.R.A.S., F.R.S.G.S., formerly Principal of the Government College at Patna, Bengal.—The Practical Study of Languages : a Guide for Teachers and Learners, by Henry Sweet, M.A., Ph.D., LL.D., Corresponding Member of the Munich Academy of Sciences, formerly President of the Philological Society.—Twixt Sirdar and Menelik : An Account of a Year's Expedition from Zeila to Cairo through Unknown Abyssinia, by the late Captain M. S. Wellby, 18th Hussars. Illustrated.—China and the Allies, by A. Henry Savage-Landor.—The Development of Doctrine from the Early Middle Ages to the Reformation, by John S. Banks, author of "The Development of Doctrine in the Early Church," "Scripture and its Witnesses," etc.—The Dawn of the Reformation, by Herbert B. Workman, M.A., author of "The Church in the Middle Ages." Vol. I. "The Age of Wyclif."—On the Warpath : a Lady's Letters from the Front, by Mrs. J. D. Leather-Culley (Lady of Grace of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem). With sixteen illustrations.—Magic and Religion, by Andrew Lang, author of "Myth, Ritual and Religion," "Custom and Myth," etc.—Armenia : Travels and Studies, by H. F. B. Lynch. In two volumes, with 197 illustrations reproduced from photographs and sketches by the author, numerous maps and plans, a bibliography, and a map of Armenia and adjacent countries.—Letters received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East. Transcribed from the "Original Correspondence" Series of the India Office Records. Vol. V., 1617 (January to June). Edited by William Foster, B.A. Published under the patronage of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India in Council.—Golden Tips : a Description of Ceylon and its Great Tea Industry, by Henry W. Cave, M.A., F.R.G.S., author of "The Ruined Cities of Ceylon," "Colombo and the Kelani Valley,"

|   | PAGE     |
|---|----------|
| "Kandy and Peradeniya," "Nuwara Eliya and Adam's Peak."—The "Tadhkiratu sh shu'arâ" of Dawlatshâh bin 'Alâ'u d dawla Bakhtîshâh al Ghâzi of Samargand. Edited in the original Persian with prefaces and indices by Edward G. Browne, M.A., M.B., M.R.A.S., Fellow of Pembroke College, and Lecturer in Persian in the University of Cambridge. —Essays on Islâm, by the Rev. E. Sell, B.D., M.R.A.S., author of "The Faith of Islâm," "The Historical Development of the Qurân."—Australian Federation, by Sir John A. Cockburn, K.C.M.G., M.D., with a preface by the Right Hon. Sir Charles W. Dilke, Bart., M.P.—Sir Harry Parkes in China, by Stanley Lane-Poole.—English and Hindustani Etiquette, by Mirza Habib Hosain, B.A., Second Assistant-Master, Colvin Taluqdar's School, Lucknow.—The Land of the Moors: a Comprehensive Description, by Budgett Meakin, for some years editor of the <i>Times of Morocco</i> , author of the "Moorish Empire," etc. With eighty-three illustrations and a map.—Madagascar, Mauritius, and the other East African Islands, by Professor Dr. C. Keller. With three coloured maps and sixty-four illustrations.—A Handbook for Travellers in India, Burma and Ceylon, including the Provinces of Bengal, Bombay, and Madras, the Punjab, North-West Provinces, Rajputana, Central Provinces, Mysore, etc., the Native States, Assam and Cashmere. Fourth edition. With seventy-four maps and plans.—In Tibet and Chinese Turkestan; being the Record of Three Years' Exploration, by Captain H. H. P. Deasy, late 16th Queen's Lancers . . . . . | 413—435  |
| OUR LIBRARY TABLE . . . . .   | 215, 435 |
| SUMMARY OF EVENTS IN ASIA, AFRICA AND THE COLONIES . . . . .  | 219, 440 |

THE IMPERIAL  
AND  
*Asiatic Quarterly Review,*

AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD,

JULY, 1901.

FAMINE FACTS AND FALLACIES.\*

By J. D. REES, C.I.E. (I.C.S., RETIRED).

It appears to me that anyone who accepts an invitation to address your readers upon such a subject as the recent famine immediately finds himself upon the horns of a dilemma. He naturally would not accept if he thought he had nothing to say; but what can he find to say in the presence of so many distinguished and experienced authorities upon this subject? Any effort to describe famine operations, their nature, the principles upon which they are based, the deductions to be drawn from their comparative success or failure, would be superfluous. The thing has been, and is being, done by Sir Charles Elliott, whose articles are read with great interest in India and elsewhere. In one respect it is hardly necessary to deal with fallacies which are not entertained, but in another respect it is worth while to try to beat into the mind of the British public some elementary knowledge of the conditions of India, and of the Indian peoples, and to avoid falling into extremes of optimism and pessimism. It will give some idea of what I believe to be an abysmal, but perhaps not altogether unusual, amount of ignorance which prevails in regard to India to refer to what happened in February in the Old Kent Road. The chairman at a meeting in Camberwell parish introduced me as a

\* See the Proceedings of the East India Association, elsewhere in this *Review*, for discussion on this paper.

suitable candidate for the County Council. The constituency, it may be remarked in passing, proved to be of a contrary opinion ; but if it rejected me for being moderate in my views, its mouthpiece on that occasion in his was certainly somewhat extreme. One of the audience arose and said, "What did you do in India?" And before I could reply another member called out, "Starved the natives," while a third got up and made a short speech, explaining that the English treated the Indians as their slaves, and that only such progress was made as benefited our own pockets.

It may be absurd to take these as texts in your influential pages, but while it is a commonplace to refer to the dense ignorance of the Indian masses, I believe the ignorance of the English masses respecting their Eastern fellow subjects is as dense as that of the Indians upon any subject whatsoever ; and he who tries in his day and generation to leaven a large lump must confine himself to broad and general lines at the risk of being called an optimist, a pessimist, a reactionary, a revolutionist, or, worse than all, a bore, when, as now, he tells people by word of mouth nothing but that with which they were previously acquainted, and appeals, perhaps in vain, to a press which, crowded with war and budgets, yet gives India quite as much notice as its readers desire. What is printed is, however, published, and publications in the present day penetrate into regions remoter than the Old Kent Road, which is more ready to read than to halt in its busy pursuits to listen to an open-air orator haranguing the passers-by from the top of an omnibus. Of course, there is the certainty that anything anyone may say on any subject is a repetition of something someone has said before ; but if that was to deter a speaker, every debating society in England, beginning with Parliament, would immediately be closed, and all the newspapers would be reduced to the dimensions of the oldest and still the most pithy and original of publications, the *Peking Gazette*.

It is perhaps advisable to say that I was myself in the

Madras Presidency and in Mysore during the great famine of 1876-77, in Madras during the less severe visitation of 1891, in the Central Provinces in the last and in the present great famines; and as an official, a traveller, a sportsman, and as one who has made a special study of Indian languages, in four of which I have held office as Government Translator and Examiner, I have spared no pains at any rate, to discover something of the true condition of the people. The general result is that I think statistics throw very little light on the situation. A high assessment generally betokens irrigation, prosperity, and more than sufficient means wherewithal to pay; an over-light assessment upon rich lands often means between the Government and the cultivator a middle-man, who gets from the actual occupant a greater proportion of the produce as rent than he pays to Government as land-tax.

Again, the land-tax may be raised as against the landlord, while the Government at the same time safeguards the landlord's tenant against a rise of rent. This was the case in the Central Provinces, where the outcry proceeds chiefly, I suspect, from the landlords, not from the tenants. But the former were rather fortunate in being made landlords in the early sixties, and are not in any way to be compared with English landlords of our time. Between them and the men who shared the spoils of the monastic houses it might be possible to establish some kind of parallel, as regards the recent nature and the permissive character of their possessions, and their dependence upon the will of the ruling power. Not that it is suggested that anything irregular or improper attaches to the origin of these tenures, which are as regular and as respectable as those of the Zemindaries of Bengal.

A low land-tax, such as the twopence an acre paid on unirrigated land in the Deccan, is an outward and visible sign of a poor peasantry near the margin of subsistence. So fallacious is the inference that a light assessment means a prosperous peasantry. But where the land



is rich, and the assessment is admitted by those whose criticism is focussed upon this point to be comparatively light, surely there, if anywhere, the people will be famine-proof? Guzerat perhaps best answers this description of any part of India, and it is therein that famine has taken its tightest hold in the past and the present year. The fact is, the people there had never come under the present system of relief, and there, as in Madras and Mysore in 1876-77, and as in Central Provinces in 1897-98, the first shock of severe distress resulted in great loss of life, and in what the sensitive conscience of the Government admits, and the critical mind of the public condemns, as comparative failure. The higher the standard adopted, the greater the difficulty in keeping up to it in all parts of a vast Empire, and the more conspicuous even a comparative failure. The fallacy of the line of argument adopted as regards assessment is well illustrated by the case of the Guzerati and the Deccani cultivator of Bombay. Among the latter, hardy, spare, and unaccustomed to superfluous food or money, the famine mortality has not been astonishing; but the comparatively rich and soft Guzeratis have succumbed even in far larger numbers than was anticipated. As to the hill tribes, they are unwilling to work to save their lives, live from hand to mouth in all seasons, and special difficulties attended the working of a code applicable alike to primitive Bhil, pampered Guzerati, and hardy Deccani ryot. Lord Curzon, however, warned all concerned at the very outset that famine relief was not to be looked on as an "exact science." Indeed, in the North-West Provinces in 1897 Sir Antony Macdonnell practically beat out a code of his own, and the widest latitude of interpretation consistent with adherence to general principles is the wisest policy.

The extent of the famine, which is now entering its third year, has already been frequently described by the Viceroy and by various other authorities. Those who want statistics I refer to His Excellency's equally interesting and informing speeches, merely remarking, by the way,

that they should have no little effect in educating England as to India. Lord Curzon has thrown off the aspect of the augur in the official temple, and comes out to meet the profane and interested public. I should have put this among his twelve reforms, or, regardless of superstition, have added it as a thirteenth.

Everyone has read Lord Curzon's speech last October, and knows that this great visitation affected 400,000 square miles and 25,000,000 in British India, and 35,000,000 in native states; that the loss in crops was £50,000,000; that Government spent upwards of £10,000,000 on relief; that upwards of 6,000,000 were at one time in receipt of State aid; and we have learnt since Mr. Risley's census figures were published with such remarkable promptitude that far more than 2 per cent. of the population affected have succumbed to starvation, privation, and disease.

And apropos of census, a pretty fair performance, by the way, for a Government whose officers are too stupid or too indifferent to India to perform the practicable feat of abolishing famines, true, between 1881 and 1891 there was an increase of 11·2, and between 1891 and 1901 an increase of only 2·42 per cent., which may, for reasons we need not enter into in detail, be reduced to 1·49 per cent. But why assume that 11·2 is a normal rate of increase? Was ever so large an assumption made on such slight grounds? Could there be a better example of ultra-statistical arrogance? We know nothing of the rate of increase for, let us say, 2,000 years, and we decide what it is upon one or two counts. The present position is explained by a falling off of 4·34 per cent. in native states, counterbalanced by an increase of 4·44 in British India proper. No doubt successive famines have largely increased the death, and decreased the birth rate; but there is no period to which we can look forward, even if the rate of advance be far greater than that of the last fifty years, at which failure of the rainfall in India, or in any tropical country, will fail to increase mortality, and impair for the moment the fertility of the people. The Central Provinces,

twice desolated by famines of the severest kind, show a falling off of 1,000,000, or about 8 per cent., while in former times if half the population had disappeared it would have been thought nothing exceptional. In the Rajputana states alone, and especially among the Bhils, has anything occurred approaching the incidents which native historians tell us were usual in famines of former days? It is also a significant fact that there have been general increases of population in parts of India not affected by famine, which would not be the case if decreases of population and famines were the result of misgovernment. For under one central administration such results might naturally be expected to be common in a greater or less degree to all parts of the Empire. Madras, the most flagrant instance, in the eyes of a certain school, of maladministration resulting from over-assessment, is the province in which the increase has been almost the highest—viz., 7·4 per cent.

To determine a normal rate for India, excluding the results of monsoon failures, would be to eliminate what is a regular factor occurring at irregular intervals, but never known to have been absent from one part or another of the peninsula for more than quite a short term of years.

It fits in with my conception of an elementary paper on famine facts and famine fallacies to describe, after warning off the well informed, the manner in which Government in India fights famine, and the general aspect of the country during the prevalence of such visitations. In the first place, a stranger landing would not know that famine was sore in the land. The sufferings of the people are great, and need, alas! no exaggeration, but it is as well to begin by understanding that there is sufficient grain in the country even in the worst famine years, though the poor have not the wherewithal to purchase. The pity is the word famine has taken tight hold of the situation. Tracts in which there is scarcity and distress of every possible degree of intensity are alike called famine-stricken. The Government, in its effort to prevent famine from laying hold of the people, brings into operation its State Relief Code long before

actual famine has arrived. This as a general statement is true. Sometimes Government, being an aggregate of human beings, is caught napping, but its effort and intention is so to deal with distress as to prevent its deepening into famine. Its code for the prevention of famine is called shortly the Famine Code, and no sooner are any of its preventive provisions brought into operation than famine is said to prevail. The case of the Government in this respect is parallel with that of a pious man named Barebones, the abbreviation of whose lengthy Christian name gave such an erroneous impression of his true character. Critics who think Indian administrators enslave and starve the natives are also under the impression that when 6,000,000 are reported to be upon relief, 6,000,000 are starving instead of being saved from starvation. That as large a percentage of the population of England and Wales is annually and in ordinary seasons in receipt of State aid, would not, of course, strike them; and, indeed, it would not be safe for critics of any class to base any deductions on this fact, the circumstances offering no points of resemblance, and equally affording little of value by way of contrast. The figures are only of use as a measure of the numbers, and because they bring out in a striking fashion the enormous bulk of the population with which the Indian Government has to deal.

However, the word famine has come to stay, unlike the visitation, we may hope; and, indeed, we may further pray that the code may never develop into a poor law. from the necessity for which we are saved by the abounding charity of the Hindu people, a charity of the highest and holiest order, in which the poor help the poor as a simple and sacred duty. As things stand it is only when the poor have nothing left for the poorer, and the poorer for the poorest, that the State is called upon to return out of the taxes the people pay enough to enable them to fulfil their obligations to the destitute. We should never forget that the humane and civilized character of the Indian people enables their governors to dispense with a poor law, or

consider that any merit attaches to the grant of relief in times of distress. The British Government never has fallen into this error. Lord Elgin and Lord Curzon have unequivocally declared that the whole resources of the Government are available for the saving of life.

When it is evident, from the rise of prices which follows more or less certainly a more or less extensive failure of the rainfall, that the code must be brought into operation, test-works are opened on which employment is offered to the needy, programmes of works of varying size and character which have previously been prepared and kept ready for use are either accepted or modified as the occasion requires, staffs are strengthened, loans are offered to agriculturists, payment of revenue is suspended, the people are informed at what centres relief is obtainable, and the poor are fed in poorhouses or at their homes as seems desirable. The village authorities prepare lists of persons who, by reason of age, sickness, sex, or occupation, are entitled to gratuitous relief, and they are rationed in their homes. This provision meets the case of those whose pride or apathy is even greater than their need. It was very widely resorted to in the famine of 1897 by Sir A. Macdonnell, and has been a special feature of the present famine. The rates of wages given upon relief-works are such as suffice to give the people rations of grain considered to be sufficient by the most experienced civil and medical officers, and it is not now even alleged that the payments made are insufficient to support life. Besides the large works under professional supervision, smaller operations for the agricultural population are provided in the immediate vicinity of their villages. Workers are housed when their homes are distant, and receive medical attendance, and children, nursing mothers, and the infirm and feeble are fed in kitchens. Of course, it is very difficult to decide when such operations should be started, and Government in India, never losing sight of the fact that its revenue is derived from a people which is poor, and chiefly from petty agriculturists, has to insist that only those who need aid shall come upon relief. Such

insistence is never necessary when a locality suffers from severe agricultural distress for the first time, since Government undertook systematic relief and the responsibility for saving life. In the South Indian famine of 1876-77, accordingly, there was great mortality, and in 1891-92 there was hardly any mortality due to starvation. In like manner, in 1897-98 there was a failure and mortality in the Central Provinces, wherein in 1899-00, during a tremendous visitation, the death-rate remained around about the normal figure. But in Bombay, during the present famine, the people, who had not gone through the experience of Madras and the Central Provinces since a Government system of relief had been established, suffered severely, and a failure is charged against that presidency such as was charged against Madras and the Central Provinces under similar circumstances. Perhaps an exception to this rule may be claimed for the North-West Provinces under Sir A. Macdonnell in 1897-98, in which it is generally believed that famine relief operations reached the high-water mark of efficiency. But whether or not that be the case, events in Bombay last year seem to have followed what may almost be regarded as a law of famine economics.

One result of the Famine Commissioners' report will probably be that we shall not in future see Bombay officers condemning Madras for its nominally higher assessments, which evidently the ryots are better able to pay than the lower rates of the Western Presidency, two-thirds of whose cultivators are said by some authorities to have mortgaged or sold their lands to money-lenders. What steps will be taken it is hard to conjecture, but it is pretty clear that it is his private debts, often 50 per cent. of his produce, and not his Government land-tax, averaging 7 per cent., which presses upon the Bombay cultivator, whose liability, some have suggested, the State should take over for liquidation, reimbursing itself by a charge upon the holding. Thus would the State's odium be increased from 7 to 57 per cent.

It may safely be stated as a general rule that the people

in receipt of famine relief who are employed upon the large public works do not show signs of emaciation. It is the object of Government to provide them with work and food before they reach that condition. Nor are they unconscious of this fact or ungrateful. Of all the untrue things said of the Indians, none seems to me more untruthful than the oft-repeated charge of ingratitude. I have never seen folks more grateful for a little than are they. And life is not a little thing, and I have heard them cry out aloud to an officer, not of Mr. Petre's secretarial type, but Mr. Fuller, a man of sympathy and of action who has been chosen by Lord Curzon for high office, that they owed their lives to the Sirkar. Why among the pictures of famine are only those representing the dark side reproduced in England? Is success nothing, that one failure should be accounted against a hundred triumphs? Why did we never see photographs of tens of thousands of people tolerably comfortable, and certainly not hungry, busily occupied in earning bread from the State, but only reproductions of poorhouses in which are gathered together the waifs, the strays, the halt, the lame, the blind, the aged, feeble, and infirm, the flotsam and jetsam of teeming Oriental populations? The poorhouse is always in evidence, and generally near the railway-station. In it is collected the misery and destitution of a town or a district, and too often the Government is condemned upon the evidence its own humanity affords. I am no great believer in statistics, but once in the most afflicted portion of the most distressed districts in the Central Provinces I made the following calculation. Of 200,000 on relief there were 5,000 in poorhouses, of whom 75 per cent. showed no distressing signs of emaciation, and of whom not more than 10 per cent. looked like the unfortunates whose photographs are reproduced in "Stricken India," and other pamphlets circulating just now in this country. It is probable that worse things were seen in this famine in Bombay, just as nothing half so bad was seen this time in the Central Provinces. The present famine will be remembered chiefly

as that in which the native states were tried and, in some cases, found wanting. In 1897-98 I remarked in an article in the *Nineteenth Century*\* that these were responsible for the care of their own distressed people, and that the duty was not very effectually performed in Rajputana and Central India. The failure in the present famine has been still more conspicuous, and we may reasonably hope that upon the report of Sir A. Macdonnell's Commission steps will be taken to impose upon them in substance our own code, which upon the whole has worked with unprecedented success during a possibly unprecedented visitation.

Of all those who are interested in India no one, I think, can be more inclined than I am to see the merits of native administration, internally independent, subject only to the general supervision of the British Government; but the evidence of eye-witnesses, the reports of newspaper correspondents and of officials, and the census figures alike speak to the immense superiority of our own system of relief, if indeed systems can be said to exist outside our own limits. In the first place, we can call upon a rich to feed a poor province, which a single financial unit cannot do. In the next place, the protected states have less of that bundobust, the making of which is the bane of public and private life, but upon which depends success. The grim realities of actual starvation have almost been confined in our districts to the hill tribes, and to the poorhouses and relief works which have been flooded with refugees past aid from native states, and to the districts in such states remote from railways. This problem and the nature, extent and causes of immigration into British works, the effect upon the death-rate, the methods of famine relief in native states and the nature of their co-operation in this behalf with our Government, formed part of the reference to the sitting Commission. So far from our being in no degree responsible for the finances and subjects of native states,

\* March, 1897.



the Viceroy, addressing the ruler of one of the largest and most important, informed him that if he persisted in obstructing famine relief the Government would take the necessary measures, "as it could not allow the lives of thousands to be jeopardized by the caprice of their ruler."

So little is it true, as stated in the *New York Herald* last year (February 18), that the expenditure of Rajas upon their personal gratifications is the cause of famine. In the same issue it is stated that none but missionaries can be trusted to distribute grain, and a picture, intended, it is presumed, to be representative of the Anglo-Indian, is drawn of an Englishman who fed his puppies on milk while babies starved. So far is it from being "impossible to answer" Mr. Hyndman, who last May wrote: "We see by looking at the great native states that our system is the real cause of the ruin we deplore. Scarcity in their case seldom deepens into famine!"

I describe the present famine as possibly unprecedented, because, in fact, we know little or nothing of those which occurred in the eighteenth and in previous centuries; but it is quite certain no systematic effort was made to relieve the people, for the Mahomedan historians, in their scanty chronicles, omitted to mention nothing to the credit of the Kings who paid them, who were, however, too busy defending themselves and their kingdoms to devote time or money to the details of administration or the collection of statistics.

It is frequently asserted that famines have been more frequent under British than under native Indian rule. No exception need in one sense be taken to the statement. Fights with a giant, who takes a great deal of killing, must be more frequent in proportion as a more sustained effort is made to compass his overthrow. In the present day every scarcity is labelled famine, into which in all cases an effort is made to prevent its developing. In former times only tremendous visitations, such as affected a kingdom up to the palace doors, attracted much attention, though it is

probable that in remission of revenue the old rulers were at least as generous as we are, however inferior they may have been in organized defence against famine. It is very hard to speak positively. I can only say that having studied Dow, Elphinstone, Elliot, Ferishta, Babar, Thévenot, Tavernier, Bernier, the Hakluyt, and other authorities, and after travelling in Arabia, Persia, India, China, Turkey, Japan, and Corea, I gathered this impression, and I believe that generally tax collectors of Eastern, are not more but less strict than those of European, Governments, and that the immensely higher assessments of former times were only possible because they were spasmodically and irregularly collected.

However that may be, in 1596, under the greatest and best of the great Moguls, Akbar, such famine prevailed that cannibalism became general, burying was abandoned, and pestilence reigned unchecked. In 1615 and 1616 there was another great calamity, and eight years' continuous plague in Upper India. Wild beasts dragged the starving villagers, while yet alive, from their huts and devoured them in the streets.

In Kathiawar and Guzerat there were famines in 1559, and in 1631 of the like intensity, and in 1647, 1681, 1686, 1718, 1723, 1747, 1751, 1759, 1760, 1774, 1780, 1785. In later days visitations of varying intensity were experienced, but nothing approaching the scenes painted by Indian historians were witnessed. Indeed, nowhere in 1900 were the bonds of law and order relaxed. Compared with the calamities described by the Mahomedan historians, most of the fourteen so-called famines which occurred between 1880 and 1897, were merely local, and by no means overwhelming disasters.

In the Central Provinces there are records of famines in 1771, 1803, 1818-19, 1825-26, 1832-33, 1834, 1868-69, and it is not surprising that a local proverb says: "He dies a good death who dies with a full stomach." In former famines wheat sometimes sold at 3 and 4 seers

of 2 lb. a rupee, and rice at 2 to 3 seers a rupee, while last year the average annual prices at Raipur were 15 and 14 seers respectively; and after the famine of 1877-78 the cultivation of these provinces only decreased by 5 per cent.

The great epic poem of the palmy days of India—the “Mahabharata”—records a famine of twelve years’ duration, in which Brahmins were driven to devour dogs.

It is not my case, however, that all famines have been successfully treated by our Government. In the earlier portion of last century we did not even attempt the colossal task in which so great a measure of success is now actually achieved. It must be admitted that in Madras in 1833-34, and in Madras and Mysore in 1877-78, and in Orissa in 1866, the mortality from famine was very high; the point is that the science of famine prevention was then in its infancy, and that this science and not famine is an invention of British rule. It is easy to say that pre-British famines showed a less appalling death-roll, since in pre-British days there were no vital statistics, and we really know next to nothing about the Deccan famines of 1685 and 1686, 1704 and 1707, so as to compare them with the last great South Indian famine of 1875.

Though the native press refers to India as the only country in the world ruled by a wealthy and civilized nation, and subject to periodical famines, there was a time when famines were frequent in Europe, and when the poor ate roots and acorns; but it has passed with improved agriculture, the development of commercial credit, and the removal of restrictions upon the natural course of trade, and above all increased facilities of transport, which none the less some actually accuse of contributing to the creation of famines in India.

But these visitations have by no means ceased to afflict Europe. In 1891, when I was in Russia, a famine prevailed in that Empire of which statistics were not published; but it was extremely widespread and severe, and the Government, while it did infinitely less than ours does,

yet obtained equal or greater credit, owing to the tactful and feeling abstention on the part of the Emperor, the Court, and the capital from all entertainments and amusements while the people were starving.

Criticism has been chiefly directed upon the management of the famine in Bombay, and we hear little of the Central Provinces, wherein, though the numbers upon relief were the highest in India, amounting in some districts to 40 per cent. of the population, it was difficult to tell that those upon relief were other than ordinary cultivators engaged upon extraordinary tasks. I speak from experience, but Mr. Nash makes the same admission. Of the famine administration of native states, too, we hear comparatively little, though it was a comparative failure, and because from such states sufferers flocked in tens of thousands to the better-managed relief works in neighbouring British territory. While we know nothing of the normal rate of increase of population in India, we do know that in the last ten years the native states have lost about the same proportion of their population as British districts have gained. Bombay, which has as many little native states as there are days in the year, and marches with Hyderabad, where famine was slight, with Baroda, where it was severe, and Rajputana, where it was intense, suffered the full brunt of the attack, while its own richest districts were taken by surprise, and the soft prosperous and unprepared cultivators of the garden of India, finding grain unobtainable at practicable rates, were without the experience which enabled the Madrassesees and the Central Province folks in their famines of later date than the Relief Code to avail themselves of that code's provisions. It has been alleged that there was considerable mortality in Bombay owing to the manner in which the Government of India circular of December, 1899, was interpreted; but surely careful discrimination as to the means of those who apply for relief is a necessary condition of any system, and more than ever when relief is being offered for the first time

upon a colossal scale to a people never in possession of reserves sufficient to tide them over a third bad season without suffering. Lord Curzon's and Lord Northcote's Governments could only feed the poorer and the poorest out of taxes paid by the poor. The rich, it is true, do not contribute their fair share, and there is no middle class to remorselessly bleed. But if that problem has not been solved in England, it is not matter for astonishment that it still remains to be adjusted in India. The December circular is admitted by the critics, of whom I take Mr. Nash to be one of the fairest and best informed, to have resulted in no increase in mortality in the Central Provinces. Why, then, should it have had that result in Bombay? It is possible that relief in the Central Provinces in this second famine under the code was somewhat lavish. The same will inevitably be the case in the next Bombay famine. The Central Provinces is simply one stage ahead. No doubt the Central Provinces' system, which was taken from the North-West Provinces, where there was no great failure in the first famine under the code, may be the cheapest in the end, because it leaves the people at the expiration of the visitation in a fit condition to cultivate their fields, if only their cattle have survived; and the loss of cattle in this famine has been one of its worst and most exceptional features.

The Government of Bombay, again, was severely criticised for collecting revenue during the famine, but never are taxes more needed from those who have, than when money is required to feed those who have not, and relief on a vast scale made large demands on the already empty treasury of Bombay. The allegation is that little distinction was made between those who could and those who could not pay, and that collections were cruelly pressed by subordinate officials, to settle which question Lord Northcote's Government appointed a special commissioner.

The inquiries of the Famine Commission appointed by Lord Curzon are proceeding, and we may be sure its

report will deal chiefly with Bombay and the native states, and that Sir Antony Macdonnell will not fail to point out very clearly anything he finds to be in fault. But amongst other things already brought out in the evidence it appears that when paid by results the people in Bombay barely earned enough upon which to support life, and when the Government task code with the ordinary minimum wage was adopted, most of them were satisfied to draw the minimum and to do little work. Some very humane and capable officers actually recommended the abolition of the minimum, and showed, as I did in the *Nineteenth Century* in the case of the last famine, that it was possible for a family to earn Rs. 12 8a. a month on relief works, or 25 per cent. more than Lord Curzon's average agriculturist's income.

It was evident that the Bombay Government had in the interest of the general taxpayer to take some action in Khandesh when the people on the relief works were reported to be in good health, but content with the minimum wage, and when their work was estimated to cost £4 per 100 cubic feet as against the ordinary contract rate of 4s. ; and when the minimum was reduced, the reduction was only enforced in the case of able-bodied adults, and no restrictions of any sort were applied to the hill tribes, who often, however, prefer to die of starvation rather than to come for relief. In many places the reduced scale did not come into operation, and it never was continued wherever deterioration in condition resulted. As a fact, the mortality was highest in the severely distressed district of Broach in February, 1900, when the distribution of relief was subject to no such check.

The Bombay Government has also been severely criticised for concentrating the sufferers on large relief works and neglecting small works near the villages, and, *primâ facie*, it would appear that the Central Provinces system of widely diffused village works might with advantage have been followed. Upon this point and others of

detail, judgment may with advantage be suspended, as the Famine Commission will speedily deal therewith.

In the most afflicted area, Guzerat, Lord Northcote's Government suspended the collection of over 70 per cent. of the revenue, and His Excellency has organized a scheme for establishing a large cattle-breeding farm to replace the Guzerat stock, which is about the best in India. While I try to avoid statistics, it may be mentioned that the loss of cattle ranges in different districts from 75 per cent. to 95 per cent.—an appalling and in our time unprecedented calamity. Bombay, too, unlike the Central Provinces, lost all its fodder, cholera and plague made it their home, the seven vials of wrath have been emptied on the unhappy province, and the wonder is, not that there have been some failures, but that law and order have with entire, and famine relief has with a very fair measure of, success been maintained.

It has not yet been shown by critics that the British Government is responsible for the loss of the pasture and the cattle, nor has any reference been made to the forest conservancy and the fodder reserves which have to some extent mitigated a calamity which all fair-minded men must allow to be due to relentless cosmic causes. With more railways and lower competitive rates, fodder will be distributed as grain now is, and one day cattle mortality also will be lessened by the action of our Government, which wisely even in the last five calamitous years has never ceased to push on its railway policy.

The ryots themselves do not dream of blaming the Government for what they know is due to the seasons. Among them traditions linger of the transit duties, and the forced labour we abolished, and of famines, when such as were oppressed had no comforter. Their attitude is admirably illustrated by the following lines by J. A. N., of Bombay, whose verses on India are all worthy of quotation :

“ ‘ You see, we *ryots*, toiling folk,  
Are peasant sons of peasant sires,  
The plough, the bullock ’—thus he spoke—  
‘ The votive grain, the altar fires,  
The marriage feast, the sower’s bond—  
We look for little else beyond.

“ ‘ The favour of the gods, *hoosoor*,  
A son or twain our lives to cheer,  
Heaped grain upon the threshing-floor,  
And health of body through the year :  
With these we’re blest, and, if they fail,  
Will word of mortal man avail ?

“ ‘ The Sirkar cannot send the rains,  
Although it hath to levy toil ;  
And barren fields and empty wains  
Are bitter to the Sirkar’s soul ;

\* \* \* \* \*  
The god we worship in the East  
Is Fate, the lord of man and beast.”

The ryot accepts the land-tax. It is an immemorial impost. A new tax is an injustice nothing can excuse.

The Commissioner of the Northern Division, Mr. Lely, while testifying to the severity of the famine in Guzerat, ascribed its intensity in a great measure to the fact that in a long period of prosperity the people had acquired expensive habits, and had become unfit to endure poverty. They now wear Manchester cloths, consume tobacco, sweet-meats, and other luxuries formerly used only by the comparatively well-to-do. The more the evidence is scrutinized, the less does it confirm the contention that the people are ground down to famine point by taxation. Is it a sign of destitution that the Guzerati cultivator invests savings in stock and not in jewellery ? and does not the fact that he, of all men in India, is the chief victim at present of famine show that these visitations depend upon causes with which alike the alleged improvidence of the cultivator, and the alleged faults of the Administration have little or nothing to do ? Mr. Dutt contends for the old Hindu counsel of perfection one-sixth of the gross as assessment. But one-half the net is actually less after you deduct expenses of cultivation, and allow for vicissitudes of seasons, in the



liberal way in which we do. In fact, our assessment works out to about 15 instead of 16 per cent., which he asks for; and of that 15 per cent. we actually take on an average for all India about half. Then, how can the cultivator profit by our interpolating between him and the State, a third person who must also live on the land? And I deny that cultivators are better off in Bengal the permanently settled. It was a Governor of Bengal who said, "Half our agricultural population never know from year's end to year's end what it is to have the pangs of hunger satisfied." Last month I gave many authorities who testified to the comfort of the temporarily settled immediate tenants of Government in Madras, and an ex-Governor, Sir M. Grant Duff, cordially endorsed my contention at the Society of Arts.

As to Mr. Nash's plea that a measure restricting land alienation, similar to that which Lord Curzon's Government passed for the Punjab, should be enacted for Bombay and for all India, surely it would be wise to first see the effects of the Punjab Act, as to the desirability of passing or not passing which, the best opinions were pretty equally divided. It is possible that, while such legislation reduces the cultivator's credit, the money-lender will be able to evade its provisions. Circumstances, moreover, differ widely in different parts of India, and agrarian legislation has not been very successful in the Deccan. Mr. Nash would make the revenue a rain revenue. So would Mr. Digby and other critics of this school. But have they considered how in rainless years the victims of rainlessness are in that case to be fed? As to grants by Imperial Parliament, it is very doubtful if the *Times* and Sir Henry Fowler would support what they recommended last year, now that Sir Michael Hicks Beach has said "that the finances of India are in infinitely better condition than our own," and I adhere, apart from the consideration that we are in no position to help others, to the opinion I stated at the time in letters to the *Times*, that one of the greatest misfortunes that could happen to India would be the loss of her financial independence.

It would be interesting to know whether the critics represented by Mr. Massingham in the press still favour the grant of £5,000,000 to India. The fact is that the collection of money in England for the Mansion House Fund makes it impossible, apparently, for the British public to realize that want of funds has never compelled the Indian Government to refuse relief to a single individual applying therefor, or to relax its efforts to force help upon the retiring, suspicious, and unwilling. Lord Elgin was indeed wise in insisting that the province of private charity as distinguished from State relief should be unequivocally laid down before he undertook to receive money from England, and it is most unfortunate that, notwithstanding this precaution, the objects of the fund are completely and invariably misunderstood, not only in England, but in other quarters where the worst construction is put on all our acts. It is absolutely untrue to say that "a Parliamentary grant would have saved tens of thousands of lives." It would only have increased the help given beyond and outside the saving of life from the Mansion House Charitable Fund.

As to the introduction of usury laws, which some recommended, this was practically done when the Contract Act was amended in a manner of which many doubted the expediency, including myself, for an amendment I moved in the Viceroy's Council was supported by half the members outside the executive Government. It was pretty well admitted as regards Southern India that there was no need to regard the agriculturist as a person entitled to special protection in his dealings with money-lenders, and the Lieutenant-Governor and not a few of the best authorities on the Punjab doubted whether the recent Land Alienation Act would do good or harm to the ryots. Whatever opinion any individual may hold upon this debatable subject, it is certain that we can only learn by actual experience, that a grave condition of affairs exists in the Punjab owing to the alienation of the land from

the class which held, and should, if possible, hold it, and that Lord Curzon's Government showed equal courage and enterprise in grasping this nettle. Laws in India, if not really needed, and if they run counter to the wishes and feelings of the people, remain a dead-letter. If that prove the fate of the Punjab Land Alienation Act, no harm will have been done, and if it prove a success, it will be of infinite value as a proof of what can and what should be done. The experiment was therefore worth trying. But it is a pity that every decade laws which prove dead-letters cannot be cleared off the Statute book, which, like withered limbs, they encumber.

I have dwelt at some length upon the famine in Guzerat because there was it most severely felt, and there does it yet prevail, as also in certain Deccan and Carnatic districts of Bombay. Sir Antony Macdonnell's remark, that the people died like flies in Guzerat when subjected to excessive tasks, was founded in part upon evidence as to the task which, as I understand, subsequently proved to have been erroneous, or to admit of a less unfavourable construction.

The famine administration in the Central Provinces, which has been lavish, though not costing more per head than that of Bombay, has upon the whole met with very little adverse criticism.

It would be possible, however, to criticise, and to say that miles of useless roads were made and not enough tanks, that embankments were heaped up for railways not yet sanctioned ; that little credit is due to the Administration for its success in feeding the shy, suspicious hill-tribes, because in the last famine the officials learnt how to give and the hill-men how to take relief ; that an almost normal death-rate in famine years is not a counsel of perfection but of necessity. But, in fact, out of sad experience and much tribulation came that success which is now on all sides acknowledged—a success which in like manner Bombay is now laying up for herself in the future with a present expenditure of blood and tears.

It indicates the difficulties of the administrator that while in the last famine the complaint was that too little was done, on the present occasion even the officers employed upon the works expressed a doubt whether Raipur was not an instance of relief rather than of distress on a large scale. The pendulum will swing one way or the other, and the mean is as difficult to achieve in famine relief administration as elsewhere.

There is, however, a remedy more often prescribed than agrarian legislation.

The *Daily Chronicle* last October said there were tens of millions of acres which could be made quite independent of the seasons, and Mr. Digby says storage tanks can be constructed of an area of 250 square miles, and the *British Weekly* has published much matter to somewhat the same effect. The fact that the Government of India has spent upwards of £36,000,000 upon irrigation works in India and Burma is not dwelt upon in these organs, or the facts that 18½ millions of acres give crops, which would otherwise be wanting, worth £27,000,000, and that projects which will irrigate another million acres are under construction. Taking all the irrigation works of India, the revenue they have brought in has exceeded the expenditure by upwards of £8,000,000, but the result would have been far different had not Government proceeded with the great care and circumspection due to the taxpayers, who should not be called upon to pay for works which are unremunerative. It is a fairly extraordinary contention that because Government has done so much, it is responsible for famines because it has not done what the geographical and financial conditions of India forbid. The recent census shows, further, that successful irrigation schemes lead to almost proportionate increases in the population, and it is by no means certain that if Government could concentrate the rainfall of the Himalayas in the Central Provinces, or perform other feats of this character, they would defeat the famine foe. The census figures for the North-West Provinces, Oudh,

and the Punjab give food for thought, and should be considered along with what Sir W. Lee Warner said on this subject in his recent lecture on irrigation at the School of Economics. No one suggests that irrigation schemes should be abandoned because they lead to increases in the population, but really to make this suggestion would be no more absurd than to suppose that, regardless of levels and water-supply, the Government can extend it at a remunerative cost to such a degree as to make the country independent of a failure in the rainfall. This sounds an exaggerated way of putting the case, but it is actually stated *totidem verbis* broadcast in the English press.

A special inquiry has been ordered by Lord Curzon's Government to discover what additional irrigation or water-storage projects could be devised in each province for inclusion in famine or ordinary programmes, and to consider in what respect Government can more effectually encourage and aid the sinking of wells, while the ordinary annual allotment has also been considerably increased. A study of the history of the Kurnool Canal would be a useful exercise for those who are recommending a wholesale extension of irrigation.

Is there, then, no remedy to which no obvious and immediate objection offers? There is, in the introduction of foreign capital, the development of the material resources of the country, and the removal of the surplus population from the overcrowded occupation of agriculture. It is the opinion of many, and I confess that to a great extent I share it, that in the past commercial enterprise has not been sufficiently encouraged in India. The present Viceroy has given proofs that he seriously entertains the views he has expressed in this behalf by acquainting himself with the conditions of the planting, gold and coal mining, and other industries at the earliest possible moment, and by his action in postponing Bills affecting the planting and mining interests injuriously, as those interests contended, for full discussion and further consideration, the result of which has

been that the objections to one measure—the Mining Bill—were for the most part removed, and that the objectionable provisions of the Labour Bill were largely mitigated before that measure became law. It is also during the present Viceroy's term of office that the regulations regarding mining concessions and their transfers have been made such as business men can accept, but not yet are the conditions as favourable as they might be to the development of private enterprise. Nor will this happy state of affairs come to pass so long as any effort is made to control business affairs at any stage upon official lines. The British everywhere insist that races with which they come in contact shall be happy, but it must be happiness after the English pattern. It is their besetting sin that they will not allow their subjects to be happy in their own way. In like manner their Governments, too, frequently insist on protecting, managing, and regulating what really will sometimes go on very well without interference. The new currency law should lead to the introduction of British capital into India. Two new companies—the India Development and the Naukhali Railway—are just announced. Others will no doubt follow. Lord Curzon has stated in council that he does not favour any avoidable interference with the conditions of labour, the cheap supply of which alongside raw material is the great attraction of India for the capitalist. Outlets for investment have been closing because of the fear of wars upon the continent, where immense armaments continue to accumulate, of wars and revolutions in South, of the growing financial independence of North, America, of the disappointments experienced in China, and the temporary closing of South, and the doubtful future of West, Africa.

We are thus more and more dependent upon British possessions, and particularly upon India, which, in spite of its admitted but sometimes exaggerated poverty, has for thirty-three years bought and absorbed gold and silver of the average value of  $10\frac{3}{4}$  millions sterling per annum. Labour,

cheap and plentiful beyond belief, is not seriously disturbed by plague, while it is scared immediately by the irritating and ineffectual sanitary measures of repression originally attempted and now happily abandoned. Caste really does not at all hamper operations. It is the shammost of bugbears, and, in fact, combined with the family system, is what makes the management and organization of Indian labour on a large scale possible for the European at the head of affairs. Capital coolies were found for the Mysore gold-mines as soon as the industry offered. Perhaps they belong to the caste which provided the gold Solomon obtained for his temple from the Malabar coast. In that case they were for a long period out of work. But in all seriousness, labour is always available provided it is not coerced, too much managed, or over-protected. It is in the industrial development of the country that we may see, not the extinction of agricultural distress, but the creation of economic conditions in which the people may be able to confront the foe with enough money in their pockets to buy the grain which again and again and again it is necessary to say to an English audience is always forthcoming, now that we have the railways to carry it, for those who have the wherewithal to pay in their cloths or their pockets.

Surely this fact alone should suffice to confound those who would resort to the old-world expedient of grain stores and of export duties on food-stuffs in times of scarcity. The people want money, and they get it by trade and by selling their grain. The huge stores they kept in former days were due at least as much to the fact that there was no market to which they had access as to a desire to keep a lot of perishing and weevil-eaten produce on the chance of a future failure of crops.

As regards the economic drain, to adopt the familiar phrase, the fact that India profits by her connection with England is no reason why the amount should not be reduced to the lowest possible figure, and for my part I think the charge for non-effective service is too high. To say, however,

that it is without precedent is beside the mark, for the Indian Empire is without precedent. The home charges are exceedingly onerous, and yet men who have retired from India on handsome pensions in the prime of life are found to advocate the grant upon still easier terms of allowances, which on their present footing are at least as high as the Indian people should be called upon to pay. I am not persuaded that economies could not be effected, and that European agency could not, at any rate in some provinces, be reduced. The one European who cannot be spared is the soldier; but when Indians make, as all allow, admirable judges, good enough for High Courts, and perform, as we know, almost all the really heavy and difficult civil work in the country, it is possible that savings might be spied in the judicial department. In Egypt justice is well administered, and it is believed at a relatively cheaper cost than in India. Money is also, though not perhaps upon a very large scale, wasted upon unlovely and unnecessary buildings, and cubic contents of air, according to Western standards, are forced upon Asiatics, who look upon them as a noxious draught. Mr. Atkins wants it all, but the proudest priest or pundit can do very well without it. Then, when there is less writing, a blessed consummation which Lord Curzon is bringing about, there should be fewer writers; but the end of this is not yet, and we shall see how many actual reductions will result from the action of a most masterful Viceroy, who, however, will have his reward, at any rate, in the good which will result from putting an end, to use his own effective expression, to the divorce which has been brought about between the officer and his work. It can really hardly be necessary that the views of an officer on Rs. 2,000 a month should be noted upon by another on Rs. 3,000 or Rs. 4,000 with his assistants on Rs. 1,000 or Rs. 2,000, before they are referred for orders to a mandarin of a higher grade on Rs. 5,000 or Rs. 6,000, who perhaps will refer the matter to a colleague upon the same stipend, when,



if the latter differs with him, or if a secretary chooses, there is a chance that the file may come at last,

“Plena jam margine, Scriptus et in tergo, necdum finitus,”

before the head of the Administration.

It seems possible that the next Expenditure Commission will need to dwell more upon the apportionment of military expenditure between England and India; but the omission of Lord Welby's Commission to deal with this subject, which was not due to want of time in which to consider it, does not affect the necessity for the military measures now announced, which all who value the safety of India should approve. A badly-armed army is the most expensive thing any country can keep. It may be hoped, however, that in future there will be less than 110 wars or petty expeditions in fifty years for the pacification or protection of a frontier upon which Prince E. Ukhtomsky, who made a clean breast of Russia's policy in the Far East,\* tells us the sister Empire has not the slightest intention of making any attack.

I notice in some remarkably well-informed articles by Mr. J. W. Root, published in *Britannia* last year, that gentleman, while he thinks the condition of the agriculturist most unsatisfactory, and the salt and land taxes too high, yet rejects the very remedy put forward by other critics of the same mind, viz., the extension of the permanent settlement, under which a reduction in land revenue would, he observes, benefit the registered owner and not the real cultivator-tenant. He only asks for a reconsideration of the incidence, and a resettlement where hardship is proved. Lord Curzon has instituted an inquiry into the incidence, and Lord George Hamilton has in Parliament promised readjustment where hardship is shown to exist.

We may be satisfied for the present on this score, and while above it is admitted that room for apprehension exists, we must, on the other hand, not forget that while the Indian debt continues to grow, the charge on this

\* “The Czar's Friend,” J. D. Rees, *Fortnightly Review*, April, 1901.

account on taxation revenue diminishes, and there can be few more satisfactory proofs of good financial administration.

It must not be forgotten, however, that comparisons of Indian taxation per head with that of other countries are entirely fallacious ; that the land, salt, and the taxation upon cotton goods by way of import duty or excise, affects the whole population ; that under present conditions the community engaged upon foreign trade is to a large extent alien, though the benefits, of course, are common to vast numbers in India ; that the improvements in the revenue, upon which its claim to elasticity is founded, are not increases in the produce of general taxation ; that the currency policy, though it appears to be working well, is necessarily, to some extent at any rate, experimental ; and that the contention of those who hold that the producer has been prejudiced, while the alien and his Government have benefited, are not to be rejected without examination based upon actual experience. In fact, the *Spectator's* dictum that "the evidences of national prosperity spread wide and deep," seems rather ill-timed, though there is truth in the words, while there is also trouble in the land.

I venture to express the opinion that, no matter how low the assessment might be made, it would be hopeless in most parts of India to expect the ryot to save in a good year to enable him to meet a bad year to a much greater extent than he does at present. In only four districts in Bombay is the land revenue over 12 per cent. of the gross produce, while with the exception of eight districts it is under 6 per cent., and the average all over India works out to about 7 or 8 per cent. of the gross produce.

But while the contention that the land-tax is crushing and accounts for the frequent recurrence of famine cannot be held to be made out, it must not be forgotten that a light is as difficult to pay as a heavy assessment for a famine-stricken cultivator, and this fact may tend to reduce estimates for land-revenue collections based upon the assumption that the famine ends with the new monsoon.

There is no greater authority on India than the French missionary, Abbé Dubois, who in the first quarter of last century wrote: "Misery among the lowest classes in India is attributable to causes beyond the power of any Government to prevent."

Whether India would have been happier in Oriental isolation is a question upon which it is useless now to speculate. The Abbé thought the "misery would have been more acute under the old régime." She has entered the comity of nations; her salvation must lie in developing her industries, so that the ryot may not be dependent upon the produce of his holding, to restrict the exportation of which would be contrary to those principles which are the bed-rock of Britain. Why, however, saving the rice duty, something like the shilling on coal should not be charged on the chief food exports, and a corresponding deduction made in direct taxation, I am personally unaware.

The Indians are cunning workers in wood and in ivory, capital carpenters, good blacksmiths. As shoemakers they might with education eventually approach the Chinese standard. As weavers they are unsurpassed, probably unequalled in the world. Gold, coal, manganese, lead, copper and other minerals abound in the bowels of the earth; diamonds and other precious stones are found upon its surface; the forests are full of rare and valuable products over and above timber, out of which anything can be manufactured from a ship to a match-box. Skins and tanning materials are equally plentiful; alongside cotton and jute grow dyeing materials. The best of carpets are made by the most ordinary prisoner in gaol. Fibres are positively a drug in the market. At present Germans and Japanese supply at sufficiently low prices for their clients furniture, fans, ropes, mats, carpets, baskets, combs, boxes, shoes, umbrellas, matches, buttons, and a hundred other things which could be equally well made in the country, not to mention the supply from home of cotton goods, hardware and other important products which the English manu-

facturer is not too proud to supply. If the proposed University of Research will favour the establishment of new industries, Mr. Tata should be admitted at once to the Hindu Pantheon without going through the early stages of deification described by Sir Alfred Lyall.

There is no space to dwell on the condition of the people now as compared with that of former times, but the reference to the sitting Famine Commission did not, as I see stated, exclude any inquiry into this all-important matter. Besides the questions of loans to cultivators, suspensions and remissions of revenue, large versus small works, relief concentration versus relief dispersion, the incidence and pressure of the land assessment was expressly mentioned as a subject upon which the Commission might inquire, although it forms the subject of a special reference by the central to the local governments.

As an outcome of these inquiries it may be sincerely hoped that some benefit will accrue to the distressed Indian cultivator, "the primary cause of whose sufferings" we cannot admit to be "the faithlessness of the British Government, to the injury alike of India and England," as the Radical Club at North Camberwell resolved a few days ago, with an ex-M.P. in the chair, however much many may, like myself, wish with that meeting to see the home charges reduced, and however glad many would be to hail the more extended employment of the natives of India in the administration of their own country.

As to Sir W. Wedderburn's proposed "Famine Union on a philanthropic and scientific basis," I believe his assertion that the ryot has less reserves than formerly to be contrary to the fact; but there are big blue-books full of the statistics the collection of which is apparently to be the object of the Union. One new industry established would be worth all the statistics which have ever been collected.

It is an encouraging sign of the times that while the Camberwell Cassandra cries "Woe! woe!" and refuses to

be comforted, the Manchester Chamber of Commerce records a resolution: "That in its opinion the whole question of the possible improvement of the economic condition of the poorer classes of the people in India may be safely left in the hands of the Indian Government, which is already giving close attention to the subject, and that the suggestion to appoint a committee of the Chambers of Commerce in Lancashire to examine this important problem is impracticable, undesirable, and not calculated to be of any real benefit or assistance." *Verbum non amplius addam.*

## PREVENTION OF FAMINE IN INDIA.

BY L. C. INNES.

AMONG the several schemes put forward from time to time for the prevention of famine in India, re-afforestation should certainly occupy a prominent place.

The cause of famine is drought, or failure of the regular rainfall acting through a series of seasons, during which the stock of grain held in store grows scarcer and scarcer, and at last becomes so greatly depleted that it is no longer able to supply the wants of the population.

Much has been done to mitigate the effects of drought, which is often local, by improved communications whereby a supply of grain is made to flow into the affected districts from others outside it in which there is abundance. Irrigation also has a large share in increasing the production of grain, and so staving off the period at which a scarcity, brought about by successive years of drought, becomes aggravated into a famine. The improvement of communications is still capable of almost indefinite extension, but it is noteworthy that, at the commencement of the terrible famine which has just now terminated, it was confidently asserted by the most experienced officials that the railways and other communications had been so greatly extended since the previous famine that it was practically impossible that the famine then apprehended could be attended with any serious amount of distress. And it is a fair inference, from the facts which so completely falsified these prognostications, that no amount of elaboration in the means of transporting grain from one part of the country to another can altogether prevent the more serious effects of famine from taking place, however much they may tend to narrow and mitigate them. With regard to irrigation, its beneficent influence is well known. Production is rendered certain instead of precarious, and the amount of production is

enormously increased. But there are very few parts of India in which irrigation is possible to which it has not been applied. And as Sir William Hunter says in his "Indian Empire": "Broadly speaking, artificial irrigation has protected, or is now in the course of protecting, certain fortunate regions such as the eastward deltas of the Madras rivers and the upper valley of the Ganges. The rest, and by far the greater portion of the country, is still exposed to famine. . . . Waterworks on a scale adequate to guarantee the whole of India from drought, not only exceed the possibilities of finance: they are also beyond the reach of engineering skill."\* And even crops grown under irrigation need showers to bring them to perfection. It should also not be lost sight of that the larger production arising from irrigation acts as a stimulus to the increase of population, which in a few years tends to minimize to some extent the advantage of irrigation in the prevention of scarcity. No doubt, however, the extension of irrigation where practicable, whether directly by channels from rivers, or by damming up rivers and leading off irrigation channels from the bed of the river so artificially raised, or by the construction of large reservoirs in suitable situations with the requisite distribution channels, as has been from ancient times such a prominent feature in the territories now known as the Madras Presidency, will always be recognised as one of the most efficient means of mitigating the effects of scarcity.

I am now, however, about to advert to a measure the adoption of which I advocated many years ago,† that of re-afforestation.

It is desirable first to refer to the fact of the extensive destruction in every quarter of the world of forests which once existed, and to the observed accompaniments of such

\* Hunter's "Indian Empire," pp. 427, 428.

† In "Vegetation as connected with Water-supply," etc., a pamphlet published in 1859 and 1864 in Madras; and in a letter, 1868, to the Secretary of State for India.

destruction, together with the grounds for attributing those accompaniments to disafforestation, and then to show the reason for concluding that extensive re-afforestation in India would be followed by the desired effect—the cessation of constantly recurring drought.

Humboldt, the great naturalist, says :\* “ When, leaving our oak forests, we traverse the Alps or the Pyrenees, and enter Italy or Spain, or when we direct our attention to some of the African shores of the Mediterranean, we might easily be led to form the erroneous inference that hot countries are marked by the absence of trees. But those who do so forget that the South of Europe were a different aspect on the first arrival of the Pelasgian or Carthaginian colonies ; they forget that an ancient civilization causes the forests to recede more and more, and that the wants and restless activity of large communities of men gradually despoil the face of the earth of the refreshing shades which still rejoice the eye in northern and middle Europe, and which, more than any historic documents, prove the recent date and youthful age of our civilization.”

Stanley† also thus notices the destruction of wood in Palestine : “ And this brings us to the question which Eastern travellers so often ask, and are asked, on their return : Can these stony hills, these deserted valleys, be indeed the Land of Promise, the land flowing with milk and honey ? . . . The forest of Hareth in the thicket wood of Ziph, the forest of Bethel, the forest of Sharon, the forest that gave its name to Kirjath Jearim, the ‘ city of forests,’ have long disappeared.”

Dr. Cleghorn,‡ formerly Conservator of Forests, Madras, writes : “ The countries bordering on the Mediterranean—Spain, France, Italy, and Turkey—have all suffered in a marked degree from the reckless and wholesale destruc-

\* “ Aspects of Nature.”

† “ Palestine,” edition of 1871, pp. 120, 121.

‡ “ Encyclopædia Britannica,” vol. ix., p. 398.



tion of the wood which covered the mountain slopes, and many springs which formerly existed under the shelter of the forests have now wholly disappeared. The insular position and moist climate of the British Isles save them from suffering from the want of forests in an equal degree with Continental nations, but the Anglo-Saxon race has been slow to apprehend the value of forests with which Nature has so liberally clothed the earth, and the history of North America, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand, bears testimony to the same improvidence and need of consideration."

Professor J. D. Whitney, of the Harvard University, writes: "The portion of the United States first settled by Europeans was almost without exception a densely-forested region."\*

Sir William Hunter, in his "Indian Empire," says: "The ancient Sanscrit poets speak of Southern India as buried under forests." "In the valleys and upon the elevated plains of the central plateau, tillage has driven back the jungle to the hilly recesses."†

The great forest of Dandaka, well known to have extended over a great portion of the Indian peninsula, is no longer to be found on the cultivable area of its plains.

Mr. Ribbentrop, for thirty-three years attached to the Forest Department of the Indian Government, and who has lately quitted the office of Inspector-General of Forests and retired, in his very valuable final report‡ (1900), regards it as amply shown that India was once covered with forests more or less dense, and that its climate was more temperate formerly. He refers to the record left by Fa-Hian, the celebrated Chinese traveller, in the fourth century, in proof of this latter position, and also to what is said in the great epic of the Mahabhārata of the destruction of the Khadava forest, and observes that the epic not only proves

\* "Encyclopædia Britannica," vol. xxiii., p. 807.

† Hunter's "Indian Empire," pp. 57, 58.

‡ Ribbentrop's Report, 1900, p. 48.

the existence of dense forests, but also the destruction of them by the early settlers, and that drought and famine followed. The more recent Ramayana also, he notices, complains of droughts, and speaks of Sringa, the forest-born, as being worshipped for bringing rain.

I will pass now to a consideration of the different phenomena which appear to accompany forest clothing and denudation respectively.

Ribbentrop, in p. 40 of his report, says: "The once well-wooded Dalmatia is now a stony desert. Persia, once one of the granaries of the East, is now barren and desolate over a large extent of the country." He notices that the same effects have followed in North Africa, and that Spain, Italy, Sicily, Greece, and Asia have also suffered greatly. So also India, especially in the Deccan and North-West Provinces.

In the article by Dr. Cleghorn already referred to, occurs the following: \* "No point has been more clearly established than the salubrious and fertilizing effect of forest clothing in the climate of India. It has been the subject of much inquiry, and has been affirmed and demonstrated in reports from many districts."

In an article by Alex. Buchan,† LL.D., Secretary to the Meteorological Society of Scotland, on climate we find: "When the ground is covered with vegetation the whole of the sun's heat falls on the vegetable covering, and as none of it falls directly on the soil, its temperature does not rise so high as that of land with no vegetable covering. The temperature of plants exposed to the sun does not rise so high as that of the soil, because a portion of the sun's heat is lost in evaporation. . . . Hence, the essential difference between the climate of two countries, the one covered with vegetation, and the other not, lies in this, that the heat of the day is more equally distributed over the twenty-four hours in the former case, and is therefore less intense during the warmest part of the day. Evapora-

\* "Encyclopædia Britannica," vol. ix., p. 398.    † *Ibid.*, vol. vi., p. 4.

tion proceeds slowly from the damp soil usually found beneath trees, since it is more or less screened from the sun. Since, however, the air from the trees is little agitated or put in circulation by the wind, the vapour from the soil is mostly left to accumulate among the trees. . . . The humidity of forests is further increased by the circumstance that when rain falls less of it passes immediately along the surface into streams and rivers ; a considerable portion of it is at once taken up by the leaves of the trees, and percolates the soil (owing to the greater friability of the soil in woods) to the roots of the trees, whence it is drawn up to the leaves and then evaporated, thus adding to the humidity of the atmosphere."

I refer again to Stanley, who in his "Palestine," noticing the pernicious effects of the denudation of the surface of the earth of its forests, observed :\* "As in Greece, since the fall of the plane-trees which once shaded the bare landscape of Attica, so in Palestine : the gradual cessation of rain produced by the loss of vegetation has exposed the country in a greater degree than in early times to the evils of drought. This is at least the effect of the evidence of residents at Jerusalem, within whose experience the Kedron has recently for the first time flowed with a copious torrent in consequence of the numerous enclosures of mulberry and olive groves made within the last few years by the Greek convent. There are proofs also of the general change which in Europe has been effected by the disappearance of the German forests. The constant allusions to winter snow in the ancient writers are not borne out by its rare occurrence in modern times."

As to the region in the neighbourhood of the Temple of Ammon, Humboldt† says : "Neither rain nor dew bathes these desolate plains, nor develops in their glowing surface the germs of vegetable life ; for heated columns of air, everywhere ascending, dissolve the vapours and disperse

\* Stanley's "Palestine," edition of 1871, p. 121.

† "Aspects of Nature."

each swiftly-vanishing cloud." Again, in his annotations and additions to his treatise on the "Physiognomy of Plants," forming part of his "Aspects of Nature," he says: "The vertically-ascending current of the atmosphere is a principal cause of many most important meteorological phenomena. Where a desert or sandy plain, partly or entirely destitute of plants, is bounded by a chain of high mountains, we see the sea-breeze drive the clouds over the desert without any precipitation taking place before they reach the mountain ridge. This phenomenon was formerly explained in a very inappropriate manner by a supposed superior attraction exercised by the mountain on the clouds. The true reason of the phenomenon appears to consist in the ascending column of warm air which rises from the sandy plains, and prevents the vesicles of vapour from being condensed. The more complete the absence of vegetation, and the more the sand is heated, the greater is the height of the clouds, and the less can any fall of rain take place. When the clouds reach the mountains these causes cease to operate, the play of the vertically-ascending current is feeble, the clouds sink lower and dissolve in a cool stratum of air. Thus indirectly the want of rain and the absence of vegetation act and react upon each other. It does not rain because the naked sandy surface, having no vegetable covering, becomes more powerfully heated by the solar rays, and thus radiates more heat; and the absence of rain forbids the desert being converted into a steppe, or grassy plain, because without water no organic development is possible."

As to the effect of forests in keeping down the temperature, I will quote from a paper by Charles Maclaren, late Fellow of the Geological Society and of the Royal Society, Edinburgh: \* "There is no counterpart in the New World to the burning heats felt in the plains of Arabia and North Africa. Even in the western and warmest parts of the parched steppes of the Caraccas, the hottest-known region

\* On America, "Encyclopædia Britannica," vol. i., p. 677.

of America, the temperature of the air during the day is only  $98^{\circ}$  in the shade, which rises to  $112^{\circ}$  in the sandy deserts which surround the Red Sea. The basin of the Amazon is shaded with lofty woods, and a cool breeze from the east, a minor branch of the trade wind, ascends the channel of the stream, following all its windings almost to the foot of the Andes. Hence, this region, though under the equator, is visited by almost constant rains, and is neither excessively hot nor unhealthy."

Regarding Africa, in an article by Keith Johnston, F.R.G.S., we read:\* "Between  $10^{\circ}$  north and  $10^{\circ}$  south of the equator, but especially in that portion of it the outskirts of which have only as yet been reached by travellers, Africa appears to be a land of dense tropical forests. . . . Here there is a double rainy season, and the rainfall is excessive. To north and south of this central belt, where the rainfall diminishes, and a dry and wet season divides the year, the forests gradually open into a parklike country, and then merge into pastoral grasslands. . . . The pastoral belts again gradually pass into the dry, almost rainless desert zones of the Sahara in the north, and the Kalahari Desert in the south, which present many features of similarity."

As to the coincidence of forests with abundant rainfall in North America, I refer again to the article by Professor Whitney, in which we find † ". . . about the ninety-fifth meridian, to the east of which lies, coincident with the region of generally abundant, and everywhere sufficient, rainfall, that portion of the United States which is almost everywhere densely forested, and the only portion which is so, with the exception of a comparatively narrow strip on the Pacific coast."

It appears that "all through the prairie region the precipitation is abundant."‡ But then it goes on to say: "Illinois is *par excellence* the prairie region, the adjacent

\* "Encyclopædia Britannica," vol. i., p. 252.

† *Ibid.*, vol. xxiii., p. 807. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 811.

States on all sides having more or less prairie, and also areas of dense forest."

Then, again, we find: "The vast area extending east from the base of the Rocky Mountains to near the ninety-fifth meridian is the district universally known as the plains, and one not at all to be confounded with the prairies, which are almost entirely included within a region of dense forests."\* Again, in the same page we find: "The transition from the forested regions of the east to the region of the plains is, almost without exception, coincident with the diminution in the precipitation, which, as we proceed westward, goes on rapidly and on the whole regularly."

Thus, we find the coincidence of heavy and constant rainfalls with dense forests, or with plain regions hemmed in by dense forests, and hence we may reasonably conclude that the presence of dense forests is favourable to the precipitation of rain, and that the rainfall would be less where forests from whatever cause were absent.

Ribbentrop says: "No doubt, whatever may be said to the contrary, that the widely-spread notion that forests tend to increase the rainfall, and that in a warm country the denudation of a country diminishes its moisture, and consequently its fertility, is correct."† He refers (p. 46) to the remarkable evidence of General Fisher, R.E., in his observations on the changes in climate of Ramandroog, in the Bellary district of the Madras Presidency, between the period 1856-1864 and 1879.

General Fisher says: "I arrived in the Bellary district in June, 1856, and visited the Ramandroog at once; the hills were then covered with a good strong jungle; there was always a heavy cloud during the night resting on the hills, and for the greater part of the day; rain fell during the south-west monsoon constantly and frequently; during the north-west monsoon it was much lighter; in the months March, April, and May the mango showers were usually

\* "Encyclopædia Britannica," vol. xxiii., p. 810.

† Ribbentrop's Report, p. 44.

very heavy, and accompanied with much thunder and lightning. The average rainfall we calculated was then 45 inches in the year; all the springs about the hills ran abundantly throughout the year, and the Nareehulla, the main feeder of the Darojee tank, with all its tributaries, had water running in them all through the year. The climate of the Droog during the monsoons, and in the cold weather, was quite cold enough to make fires very necessary, although the elevation is only 3,000 feet above sea-level. The water-supply was most abundant during the whole of the hot weather, and the tank was almost always full, surplussing very largely during the south-west monsoon. These observations refer to the years 1856 up to 1864 inclusive, when I left the Bellary district, and did not visit the Droog again till January, 1879. I found everything changed. The jungle had been almost entirely destroyed; the rainfall is most precarious, and certainly not so much as 24 inches in the year. The tank has not filled for the last three years, and is generally 10 or 12 feet below full tank level; the springs are almost always dry—dribbling only at the best. The climate is so changed that in the cold weather it is hardly necessary to shut the doors and windows; except for the high wind and slight mists of the south-west monsoon, it would not be necessary to close the house at all. The main feeder of the Darojee tank dries up altogether by the end of February, and all its tributaries have no water in them."

Mr. Ribbentrop also quotes Mr. Macartney, who was agent of the Sandúr State, in the Bellary district, and lived for twenty-two years on or in the neighbourhood of the Ramandroog. He says: "In the first decade of my residence here, the tank near my house used to be regularly filled every year, and to be running over for several weeks at a time. Latterly, though, it has accumulated an immense amount of silt, and is now consequently of diminished capacity; it rarely fills, and the same remarks apply equally to the Ramandroog tank and to that of Sangakéni."\*

\* Ribbentrop's Report, p. 47.

Mr. Ribbentrop also refers\* to the phenomena observed in the case of the Rushikulya, a river in the district of Ganjam. It is formed by two main branches: the one has its sources in well-wooded hills, and is flowing for nine or ten months in the year; the other, the Mahanadi, taking its rise in the much more open country of Gumsúr and Chokapad, is dry for nearly eight months.

There is another consequence also to which Mr. Ribbentrop refers† as following the destruction of forests. He says: "In the one case" (*i.e.*, where the surface of the earth has been laid bare) "the water rapidly runs off into streams and seas by sudden floods and freshets. In the other instance the water is stored for re-evaporation, and is given forth at a time when the air is drier and the winds do not blow from the sea."

In another place he says: "In Kanara numerous instances are reported where spice-gardens near the Gháts have had to be abandoned on account of the destruction of the forests in the vicinity, and even within the once moist and cool valleys of the Sirsi and Siddhapur ranges gardens were deserted soon after the hillsides had been cleared of forest growth."‡

Mr. Bryce, in his "Impressions of South Africa," says: "The want of forests in South Africa is one of the greatest misfortunes of the country, for it makes timber costly, it helps to reduce the rainfall, and it aggravates the tendency of the rain, when it comes, to run off rapidly in a sudden freshet."§

The silting up of rivers is also noticed by Mr. Ribbentrop|| as an accompaniment of denudation. The four principal rivers of Ratnagiri, in the Bombay Presidency, were formerly navigable and important to the trade of the country; they are now only navigable for small boats, owing to the silting

\* Ribbentrop's Report, p. 47.

† *Ibid.*, p. 44.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

§ Bryce's "Impressions of South Africa," p. 29.

|| Ribbentrop's Report, p. 52.



up occasioned, apparently, by the volume of the streams having lost force from their head-waters having been denuded of trees. This is the purport of the testimony of Sir Diedrich Brandis, formerly Inspector-General of Forests.

There is the same phenomenon noticeable as coinciding with the denudation of the Deccan Highlands and the Eastern Ghats: "When the English, French, and Dutch first made settlements on the Coromandel coast they were able to take ships up the rivers Godaveri and Kistna. Narsapur and Yanam, on the Godaveri, though now only approachable by small native craft at high-tide, were once the chief ports for that part of the coast. At Masulipatam the Dutch ships used to come close up to the port, but now even native vessels of small draft have to anchor five miles out in the roads."\* Similar observations are made as to the change in the circumstances of Ganjam.†

Mr. Bryce, in his "Impressions of South Africa," remarks: "It has been plausibly suggested that one reason why many English rivers which were navigable in the tenth century (because we know that the Northmen traversed them in vessels which had crossed the German Ocean) are now too shallow to let a row-boat pass, is to be found in the destruction of the forests and the draining of the marshes which the forests sheltered."‡

Lake Fife, too, near Poona, a work which cost £1,000,000, is rapidly silting up coincidently with the denudation of the catchment area.§

Mr. Bryce, in his book before quoted, observes as to the effect of trees on the soil in preserving its moisture, and in preventing the soil itself from being carried away: "Forests have a powerful influence on climate in holding moisture, and not only moisture, but soil also. In South Africa the violent rain-storms sweep away the surface of the ground, and prevent the deposition of vegetable mould. Nothing retains that mould, or the soil formed by decomposed rock,

\* Ribbentrop's Report, pp. 52, 53.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Bryce, p. 29.

§ Ribbentrop's Report, p. 53.

so well as a covering of wood and the herbage which the neighbourhood of comparatively moist woodlands helps to support. It is much to be desired that in all parts of the country where trees will grow trees should be planted, and that those which remain should be protected.”\*

Another coincidence noticed as following the destruction of forests is the deterioration in the fertility of lands under cultivation. Instances of this may be found in every part of India, and some are given in Mr. Ribbentrop's report as having occurred in the “Ceded districts” of Madras, where culturable lands are yearly covered with sand blown from the denuded areas. In Pullampéta, in the Cuddapah district, these consequences are becoming very marked, and in the Kanara district, owing to the loss of fertility following the destruction of neighbouring forests, many fruit-gardens have had to be abandoned. The appearance and disappearance of springs also is mentioned as being found by the experience of the Department in the Punjab to follow in the wake of the protection of forests or deforestation respectively. Remarkable evidence of this is also forthcoming from Trichinopoly,† where planting along the banks of the Káveri has resulted in wells from 6 to 10 feet deep in the plantations being well supplied with water throughout the hot weather, when the river is dry, while wells 15 feet on unplanted land “in the neighbourhood, and on the same level, and otherwise similarly situated, are quite dry throughout the hot months.”

On the continent of Europe, and especially in France, the beneficial effects of forests, in the various respects touched upon above, are well known and acknowledged, and in France, especially, action has long been taken by replanting, and also by the creation of new forests, to secure the advantages so recognised to attach to their existence.‡

\* Bryce, p. 29.

† Ribbentrop's Report, pp. 51, 52.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

§ “Encyclopædia Britannica,” vol. ix., pp. 402, 403.

I shall now proceed to state the way in which the observed accompaniments of the denudation of forests may be accounted for.

The rays of the sun do not directly heat the atmosphere, but pass through it to the surface of the earth, and according as that surface is bare or covered with vegetation the temperature of the atmosphere immediately above it, and heated by radiation from it, will be more or less raised. When the surface is bare, it becomes at once heated by the sun, and the heat is communicated to the superincumbent atmosphere, into which it is thus kept continually radiating.

A tree separates moisture from the depths of the soil, draws it up and elaborates it into its body, and distributes it to its branches and leaves. Moisture, therefore, is always present in vegetation. This helps to keep the foliage of trees at a lower temperature than the bare surface of the earth. For when the foliage is acted upon by the sun, some of its moisture is drawn to the surface and evaporated; and in the process of evaporation cold is generated. This is a well-known physical fact, and may be easily verified by letting a few drops of ether evaporate in the hand, when a strong sensation of cold will be excited. If the bulb of a thermometer covered with lint be moistened with ether, the production of cold will be marked by the descent of the mercury.

When trees are isolated, the lowered temperature of their foliage is subject to be raised by the currents of air around them, which are heated from the surface of the bare earth. Where they stand together in thick clusters or dense forests, the difference of temperature will be much more marked and distinct, as also the difference between the lowness of degree at which the temperature is so kept, and that at which it would continue if the sun struck upon a bare surface of dry earth. In this latter case a current of hot air is continually rising into the atmosphere from the earth, turning all descending moisture into vapour, and in an ordinary state of the atmosphere effectually preventing the fall of rain.

The monsoon winds strike upon the Indian coasts with regularity at certain seasons, but the force of the current of wind varies. The monsoon wind is charged with vapour from the sea, which is discharged from the atmosphere in circumstances favouring its condensation and precipitation. Such circumstances may be the contact of the vapour with a current of air cooler than that in which it is suspended. Under such contact the vapour is discharged as rain. Now, it is clear, from what has gone before, that even when the monsoon current is weaker than usual it requires only a cool surface spread below it as it passes along to insure precipitation, and it must be evident that if the surface of the earth be bare the ascending current of hot air will prevent precipitation, and the moisture in the atmosphere in the shape of clouds will become transformed into vapour, and pass over the continent, and be lost for purposes of agriculture, unless it meets at any point a surface of vegetation of sufficiently wide area to reduce the temperature to such an extent as to condense the vapour and induce precipitation. Even after the clouds have suffered the transformation into vapour, their contents so transformed may be moved along by the monsoon current; and if a passage is thus made from a heated and heat-radiating plain to an area of forest vegetation, the cooler air radiating from the extended area of foliage will recondense the vapour into cloud, and precipitate it in rain.

What is spoken of as a failure of the monsoon is often no failure of the monsoon current, but merely a failure of the atmospheric conditions required to precipitate the moisture in the atmosphere, which, by being turned into vapour and lost to sight, is passing away with the monsoon current. If by increase of forest areas we reduce considerably the heat-radiating area of the plains, the entire stratum of atmosphere lying over the surface of the continent may be lowered in temperature sufficiently to induce precipitation over a wide area.

Everything points to old countries having been subjected

to extensive denudation of forests, and to their having suffered in consequence from a lowering of the springs and the too rapid dissipation of the moisture that falls. This latter consequence arises from there being no longer any means such as existed previously through the agency of forests for the arrest of the moisture and its economical distribution. There is less evidence as to the diminution of the rainfall from the same cause, but in India there is the constantly-recurring so-called failure of the monsoon, and the ensuing drought, which appears to be most clearly accounted for on the grounds just mentioned; and the reasoning by which a failure of the rains is attributed to the nakedness of the surface of the ground is entirely borne out by the passages cited above from Humboldt and Stanley, and the writers of the articles in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," and others, and by Mr. Ribbentrop's report and the experiences of the writers quoted and referred to by him.

The effect of great barrenness of the surface of the soil over a large area is not to prevent the fall of rain altogether. In Aden, for instance, it rains about once in three years. There are certain states of the atmosphere induced by long-continued drought which at length usher in rain, but with indications of great atmospheric disturbance. Moffat, the great missionary, who laboured among the Bechuana tribes, in his book on South Africa,\* notices the terrific storms with which the infrequent rains there are attended, and conjectures that the destruction of the gigantic vegetation which formerly existed in South Africa is closely connected with the present great dryness of the country and the extent of the atmospheric disturbance at the time of rain. Trees are great conductors of electricity, and it appears probable that electricity, and especially where aided by vegetation, has a large part at all times in promoting the discharge of rain from clouds. The interflow of electricity between the earth and the clouds, the one being always

\* "Missionary Labours and Scenes in South Africa," 1842.

positively and the other negatively electrified, is interrupted by the destruction of forests. The clouds, as before explained, float at a higher level, and the distance may thus become too great for a discharge to take place until a larger quantity of both positive and negative electricity has accumulated than is required, where trees are present, to promote a discharge. When it does take place in such circumstances, the atmospheric disturbances are abnormally great.

Oskar Peschel's teaching in his "*Neue Probleme der vergleichenden Erdkunde*," which Mr. Ribbentrop notices and combats, seems to omit certain important factors which must be taken into consideration, among which the greater economy of moisture in wooded areas is one of the most prominent. While he acknowledges the local influence of forests on the precipitation of moisture, he says nevertheless that the amount of rain which falls year by year on the Continent would be exactly the same if there were no forests at all. "The amount of rain," he says, "depends on the extent of oceans and seas, on the degree of heat, and on the rapidity with which the air moves over the surface of the waters. None of these conditions are changed by the extent or absence of forests."\*

In regard to this, Mr. Ribbentrop cites the case of Assam. He says: "In Assam, which is a broad, isolated, well-wooded valley, rain clouds form in the winter, and it rains when no air currents reach it from the sea. The clouds are home-born, and are, to some extent at least, due to evaporation from the vast forest areas still in existence. The same laws naturally apply to any locality, though they may not be so strikingly exemplified."† Oskar Peschel omits also apparently to take into account what Humboldt insists on, that where a current of air, charged with moisture, passes over a parched surface of soil radiating heat, the heated air rising turns the moisture into vapour, and prevents precipitation; *i.e.*, it distributes the moisture

\* Ribbentrop's Report, pp. 41, 42.

† *Ibid.*, p. 42.

through a greater expanse of atmosphere, and so provides for its being held in suspension, in place of its passing beyond saturation - point and becoming condensed and precipitated as rain. From what has been said in the foregoing pages, there would seem to be scarcely any possibility of question that vegetation promotes rainfall.

We arrive, then, at the final conclusion that the extension of forest areas in India would prevent drought, and that a system of extensive replanting ought to be undertaken. Grant that this might trench somewhat on the cultivable area, yet it would eventually add to the fertility of India and increase its wealth, and by the accumulation of capital give rise to various industries which the country is at present too poor to maintain, and thus provide for that portion of the population for whom cultivation of the soil might no longer afford an available means of livelihood.

In France, as we learn from Dr. Cleghorn's article before quoted, laws were passed in 1860 and 1864 providing for the *reboisement* of the slopes of mountains. These laws were directed to putting a stop to the frequency and destructiveness of floods which had followed the denudation of the mountain slopes. The measures taken were most successful. During 1875, when much injury was done by floods in the South of France, "the Durance, formerly the most dangerous in this respect of the French rivers, gave little cause for anxiety." It had been extensively replanted on its catchment area. New plantations have also been undertaken on the white, shifting sands or dunes along the coast of Gascony. A forest, also, of pines, 150 miles in length and from 2 to 6 broad, stretching from Bayonne to the mouth of the Gironde, has been raised from seed within the last 110 years; and in the department of "Landes," low, marshy ground has been transformed into productive land by pine-planting and by draining. No insuperable difficulty can exist to India's undertaking what has been so successfully entered upon by France.

Even at this late date we find that the Forest Depart-

ment of India, great and important as its work is, can do little in the way of extending plantations beyond their existing areas. Its office is still rather to economize the resources of the existing forests than to replace with forests areas which recently, or in ancient times, have been denuded. The expense of expanding its functions to embrace the work of reafforesting the country might be great, and the time occupied in the work might outlast more than a generation ; but the country is crying out for the most effectual remedies for famine. Is any immediate outlay too great that would enable us once for all to stay the approaches of drought and famine, save millions of lives, and place our finances upon a basis no longer liable to be disturbed, as at present they are, by constant apprehensions of the recurrence of these calamities ?

The period that would probably be required to make such a remedy effective is suggestive of the necessity of losing no time in initiating the necessary measures.

25478



# AGRICOLA REDIVIVUS.\*

BY S. S. THORBURN.

(Late Financial Commissioner, Punjab.)

ORDINARILY the forty million inhabitants of our islands take little interest in the affairs of their three hundred million fellow-subjects in India. When, however, a calamity, such as war, plague, or famine, imparts dramatic elements to news from our great dependency, the London dailies and monthly reviews re-discover India, and vie with each other in reminding Englishmen of their responsibilities as rulers of an Asiatic empire.

In 1897-98 India was prominently before the public. Our policy of push and demarcate had excited into ebullition the independent tribes on the north-west frontiers of the Punjab, and a series of boundary wars culminated in what is known as the invasion of Tirah. Since then, although the *pax Britannica* of India has been undisturbed, plague and famine have afflicted the land. The latter is nearly at an end for a time, but the former, robbed of its earlier terrors, continues. England, preoccupied with the struggle in South Africa, and for some weeks with the anti-foreign upheaval in Northern China, has been almost indifferent to India's latest troubles. During the acute period of the Boer War a disaster, or even "regrettable incident"—each an affair of a few hours—was more discussed in the London press than all the prolonged sufferings of the seventy million Indians whom plague and famine were torturing or frightening. Though for months now the situation both in South Africa and China has been rather exasperating than critical, speculation on the canal-system in Mars has occupied more space in our current literature than an economic revolution of far-reaching importance for all British India, which has just been carried through under the auspices of Lord Curzon.

I refer to the first of a series of land-reform Acts designed

\* For the discussion on this paper see Report of the Proceedings of the East India Association in our next issue.

to rescue the peasantry from their increasing enthrallment by money-lenders. This novel legislation has not been achieved without prolonged controversy between the executive officers of the Government—those who live amongst the people and try to understand them—and the bureaucratic few, who observe them telescopically with the detachment of distance, uphold the traditions of machine-rule, and direct the administration. The Punjab has been first selected for the new departure because its western half, inhabited by hardy Mohammedan tribes—all potentially fanatical and therefore dangerous—had been proved to be more in bondage to money-lenders than any other province in India; hence, further delay might have converted brooding discontent into active disorder.

As the new law subverts much of the elaborate legislation of the last thirty years, reduces agricultural landholders to a position analogous to that of life-tenants, depreciates the market value of arable land, deprives capitalists and lawyers of the means of exploiting agriculturists in the civil courts, and is, moreover, intended to be a model for similar enactments throughout the rest of British India, some account of our strange retrogression from a complicated technical system to one of sympathetic equity may not be uninteresting.

The Punjab is an agricultural country nearly as large as Great Britain and Ireland. Of its twenty million inhabitants 85 per cent. live by farming, which is carried on by fraternities of peasant proprietors scattered throughout some twenty thousand villages. Lying immediately to the east of Afghanistan and Baluchistan, the Punjab was first traversed and occupied by the successive hordes of Mohammedan invaders from the West, whose ultimate objectives were Delhi and the rich Gangetic valley. The newcomers in turn evicted, absorbed, and proselytized. From the death of the Emperor Aurangzeb (1707) until we English wrested the country from the Sikh commonwealth (1849) there was no settled government. The rule of the temporary strongest prevailed, and each extracted what income

he could from the village communities who possessed the land. Through all vicissitudes those communities maintained their old forms of self-government. Against them might had always made right. From ancient times each ruler of the day had regarded himself as the sole and universal landlord, entitled to exact from agriculturists as much of the produce as it was politic or possible to take. This was the case not only in the Punjab, but throughout India generally. We became then, as successors of the Sikhs, the sole landowners of the Punjab, the peasantry being one and all Crown-tenants. "We are," as Lord Curzon recently reminded his Council, "in the strictest sense of the word, the largest landlords in creation."

When, therefore, fifty years ago we rounded off the boundaries of our Indian estate by taking in the Punjab, we had a clean slate to work upon. At the time, and for some years afterwards, the conception of individual property in land hardly existed, except to a limited extent in regard to the cultivation round wells, particularly in the vicinity of towns, and in the east of the province. The community, not the individual, was the occupying unit. We might at once have considered the question of land tenure, but we had no time for it. The pressing need was money wherewith to meet the demands of the new administration. Our officers filled the treasury by adopting an ameliorated form of the Sikh system. They roughly assessed a lump sum on each village, and left the internal distribution and collection to the inhabitants themselves. Formerly, the State-rent, or, as we call it, "land revenue," was paid in kind, usually two-thirds or half of each crop. Such uncertain income was inconvenient for a settled government with budgets and regular disbursements. We reduced the demand to the estimated value in money of one-quarter of an average crop, and exacted payment on fixed dates, whether the yield had been good or bad.

As coined money was still scarce with peasants, and their harvests varied from abundance to nothing, many com-

munities were soon defaulters. Following precedent elsewhere, we recovered the arrears, and, in some tracts, secured punctuality in future, by auctioning whole villages, or farming out the right of collection to contractors. A few years later we began what is called the "regular settlement" of the province—the preparation for each village of a field-map, and the fixation for a term of years of the land-revenue demand for every cultivated plot therein, coupled with a register of title and occupancy. By so doing we, almost without deliberate design, created and recognised the right of the individual land-revenue payer to the ownership of his holding. These two fatal gifts—ownership and fixity of demand—supplemented as they were by the introduction of a complicated legal system, are the root-causes of the agrarian misery, which the Government of India have now at last attempted to cure—many years too late, alas! to benefit the large minority of agriculturists. Until we prepared our Punjab Domesday Book—a work which it took twenty-five years to finish—each peasant's borrowing powers were limited to his next good crop, for, his title being insecure, the very identity of his fields being often unascertainable, he had no property to sell or mortgage to a cautious outsider. The regular settlement of his village completed, the peasant's assets and consequently borrowing powers appreciated to the market value of his holding.

For some years the change from the old to the new order brought a specious affluence to the unsophisticated Punjabis, for lenders were accommodating, and rupees in abundance were always obtainable in return for a mark on a piece of paper; if, now and then, an outlying field had to be mortgaged with possession, the owner had still other fields left, which produced sufficient in normal seasons to meet his humble requirements. If, in those easy times, agriculturists were improvident, the *Sarkār* (Government), not they, were to blame for their want of thrift. Were a horde of Board-school boys let loose in London, each with his pockets full

of sovereigns, they would spend their treasure foolishly. The donors, not the children, would be responsible for their folly. The Punjabi peasantry, particularly the Moham-medans, were and still are children in worldly wisdom, and as we gave them ownership, it was we, not they, who acted unwisely.

To the trading classes, hitherto the dependents of the agriculturists, our gift proved an El Dorado, to be gradually acquired by the exercise of inherited aptitudes, which the insecurity of Mogul and Sikh rule had formerly debarred them from using.

Whilst we were organizing and developing our administration, the game of borrowing went on smoothly enough for a time. But as centralization and litigation increased, and the stamp-revenue rose higher year by year, grumblings began to be heard. The Government, however, had no misgivings. "These are signs of a nation's awakening, the natural concomitants of healthy progress and confidence" was the official pronouncement.

By the end of the seventies the administrative machine for the Punjab was in perfect order, a beautifully finished and intricate arrangement of wheels, every one of which, great and small, was working in frictionless subjection to the great design of the maker—unsympathetic centralization. Like God on the sixth day of the creation, the Government "saw everything that He (they) had made, and, behold, it was very good." Certainly from a European standpoint "it was very good"; there were a chief court and subordinate courts by the score, laws and rules copied from every statute-book in Europe, which regulated everything for everyone, and to interpret and misinterpret these laws a multiplying locust-swarm of pleaders had settled on the land. All this may have been satisfactory for those who profited by it—the Government, the courts, the lawyers, and the money-lenders—but it was ruinous for the people.

For some years the self-complacent optimism of the

Government was rarely challenged. A busy executive had little time and less inclination to question the wisdom of a pronouncement by Government. They were servants, not critics, and their master, whether as John Company or the British democracy, was a despot, who believed that what was good for Englishmen must be good for Asiatics.

Until the Sepoy Mutiny India had been the estate of a private company, managed on business principles for the advantage of the shareholders. Upon the collapse of the company in 1857-58 England took over the business, and since then India has been an Empire held in trust by our people for the welfare of its people. Whilst an estate the directors thought of little but dividends, hence their management was exclusive and conservative. Thus, always conditional on the regular payment of the taxes, Indians were left alone; there was no admittance for outsiders, no interference with inoffensive native customs and institutions, no encroachment by one class on the prerogatives of another; what existed was maintained; there was stagnation rather than activity. As an empire the old order was superseded. Progress and equal opportunity for all men were the watchwords of the new masters. Thus the impulse was now all towards the breaking down of caste and class barriers, the declared object being the amalgamation of all men into an educated homogeneous people. Forgetting that it takes long years of ceaseless effort to appreciably elevate any race—let alone prejudiced, slow-witted masses of Asiatics—we acted in the Punjab, when introducing what may be called “our system,” as if we expected that the results achieved in England after centuries of evolution would be there accomplished in a few years. In so doing we followed the precedent of older provinces, but in them, as in the Punjab, we had overlooked the fact that “the people of India”—*pace* the earlier Congress-wallahs—are not its commercial citizens but the 270,000,000 of voiceless toilers of its villages and hamlets. Between 1858 and 1870 the Punjab was fully equipped with British institutions, all,

perhaps, excellent for business men but premature by centuries for the Punjab peasantry. The rigidity of the revenue system was defended on account of its moderation, owing to which the shortness of bad seasons would be recouped from the superabundance of good years. The multitude of laws, though incomprehensible as yet to the illiterate people, were justified as a means of education, for were not these laws interpreted and applied by a Chief Court, supported and obeyed by some 400 judges and many hundreds of certified legal practitioners?

It was not until the middle of the seventies that some of the more independent district officers began to cry out that "our system" was not the admirable machine it was officially represented to be. It was, they complained, forcing the people to borrow upon unconscionable terms, and reducing them to the position of serfs under classes who had until then been their servants. Such a view was energetically repudiated by the Government; it was contrary to the accepted principles underlying the whole edifice of English administration throughout India, and that edifice, except temporarily during the Mutiny, had stood the test of time. District officers, however, knew better than the bureaucrats. They knew, even then, that "our system" instead of fashioning needy, ignorant husbandmen into thrifty, intelligent citizens of the Empire, had brought already in the different provinces of India quite 50,000,000 of them to ruin. District officers had to possess their souls with patience. They recognised that things must grow worse before a remedy would be applied. Close hierarchies, such as we have in India, being the slaves of precedent and tradition, concede no new thing except under the coercion of apprehension. Until some catastrophe comes or threatens, they regard reform-advocating subordinates as busybodies, and discourage by all means in their power the formation and expression of a healthy public opinion.

The truth of this broad assertion was established in Bombay, as will be presently shown, before the agrarian

troubles in the Punjab became acute. In Bombay the same causes, as later operated in the Punjab, had conduced to impoverish and demoralize the people. The case for the northern province differs from that of any of the older "regulation" provinces of India. An insurrection in the Punjab would endanger the safety of our rule throughout India, elsewhere it would be merely "a regrettable incident."

The western half of the Punjab, it should be remembered, is the home of formerly powerful Mohammedan tribes, each potentially fanatical, each proud of the traditions of past eminence, and the consciousness of superior manliness. Even now, in this period of depression, our Mohammedan peasants despise the Hindu trading classes, sneer openly at the present régime, which they call "the *rāj* of the money-lenders," and when compelled by the law to surrender land to the hated usurers, announce that some day they will regain it "with the slipper." In the central Punjab the strong race are the Sikhs, the only Asiatic people with characteristics analogous to those of the Germans. Brave as Rustums and acquisitive as Bunniahs, they readily in 1849 converted their swords into ploughshares, and began to adapt themselves to the new order of things. In the eastern parts of the province the dominant Jât tribes, though less astute than the Sikhs and devoid of commercial enterprise, have from ancient times formed groups of close brotherhoods. Their clannish cohesion has given them such collective power that their ability to resist disintegration is still considerable. The destructive effect of our system has, then, wrought more mischief west of the meridian of Lahore than east of it. But making allowance for local variations due to tribal, caste, religious, and other idiosyncrasies, that system has everywhere throughout British India benefited the trading classes at the expense of the illiterate agricultural masses, and whether the passing of the assets of the latter to the former be slow or rapid, that passing is everywhere taking place. But for the



bureaucratic self-sufficiency of our administration, its rigidity, want of sympathy, and worship of uniformity and European models, the evils which Lord Curzon is now correcting would have been faced and overcome a generation or more ago.

For fully half a century before the degradation of the peasant proprietary became marked in the Punjab, executive officers had in other parts of India drawn attention to the popular odium with which our system was regarded in the villages, and had warned their local Governments that there was a limit to the endurance of the people. Such Cassandras were either snubbed as wild alarmists, or more usually suavely assured that the subject was engaging the serious attention of the Government, which "confidently anticipated that the spread of education would gradually prove an effective remedy for any economic disadvantages from which some of the agricultural classes might be temporarily suffering." By the enunciation of comforting platitudes such as these the Bombay Government had succeeded in staving off reform from 1852 to 1874. Throughout the whole of that period, as the Government repeatedly announced, the question continued under their "anxious consideration," a formula used by Indian administrations when they mean to do nothing. Suddenly out of a clear sky, as the Government thought, came in 1875 the thunderbolt: the peaceful *ryots* in twenty-four villages formed a Mahratta Land League, and burnt their Marwari oppressors' shops, books, bonds, and mortgage deeds. A wholesale boycott of all usurers followed. Apprehensive of a general insurrection, the Bombay Government yielded to fear what they had refused to reason, hastily redressed some wrongs, and quieted the desperate *ryots* by promising permanent reforms of a drastic character. An effective Commission was at once appointed to inquire into all grievances and suggest remedies. Three years afterwards what is known as the "Deccan Ryots Act" became law. This measure of spoliation, as the Opposition called it, established cheap

and simple courts of equity for adjudicating between agricultural debtors and their creditors, empowered the new judiciary to vary contracts, directed that only moderate interest on the ascertained principal should be decreed, and enabled mortgagors to redeem their fields for a reasonable payment made in instalments, irrespective of the conditions under which the money-lenders' grip on the land had been obtained. The Act has been in force for more than twenty years, and by enabling the *ryots* to emancipate themselves from their Marwari thralldom has fulfilled the hopes of its warmest advocates. Up to 1875 these Deccan *ryots* had been the slaves of the usurers; to-day they are self-respecting freemen, secure in the possession of their holdings, and able to borrow in normal times, when necessity arises, upon reasonable terms. In famine times the Government must, of course, give relief. No peasantry in the world could survive unaided the drain and the strain of an Indian famine.

The petty insurrections in the Deccan roused the apprehensions of the Government of India, which argued that if a docile peasantry in the heart of a peaceful presidency, after enjoying the advantages of our orderly rule for more than a century, had been goaded by legalized injustice into defying authority, the same causes might excite graver resentment amongst the sturdier races of Northern India. Local Governments throughout India were consequently called upon to consider the whole question of land reform, and, if necessary, suggest relief measures.

In the Punjab the subject had already attracted attention, and been under fitful discussion for some years. There the creation of a Chief Court in 1866, with its corollaries—the flooding of the province with precise laws and regulations, a multitude of civil courts, and an ever increasing crowd of hungry lawyers, had already wrought ominous changes. An epidemic of litigation had set in and become endemic; money-lenders were prospering, agriculturists sinking; the reports from the districts, supported by statistics of doubtful

value, were filled with forebodings; the people were crying for more equity and less law, and one experienced executive officer, whose opinion commanded respect, bluntly told his Government that if the peasantry were to be saved from extinction as unencumbered landowners, the law-courts should be closed and debtors and creditors left to settle their disputes as best they could out of court, as was still the practice in many Native States. The Punjab Government promised further inquiries, and in the meantime, following the precedent of Bombay, attempted to placate the pessimists with platitudes upon the beneficial results expected from the spread of education and the like. When the superficial inquiries had been completed, an official pronouncement appeared in 1874: "The condition of the peasantry was eminently prosperous." Four years later, in his evidence before the Indian Famine Commission, Sir Richard Temple emphatically endorsed that verdict, only substituting for "prosperous" the phrase "creditable to British rule." His dictum was not accepted by the disinterested experts composing the Commission. "We learn," they stated in their report of 1880, "from evidence collected from all parts of India, that about one-third of the land-holding classes are deeply and inextricably in debt, and that at least an equal proportion are in debt, though not beyond the power of recovering themselves. . . . It does not appear that in this respect (indebtedness) one province differs from another."

If the general condition of the peasantry throughout India was bad, it was worse in the Punjab; yet there, as elsewhere, the executive—the men of action in the plains, who live amongst the people, and the Government with its Secretariat—the men of the pen, who administer from pleasant retreats—disagreed as to facts and remedies. The position of *non possumus* taken up by the Government—a radical change in a working system being out of the question without proof of necessity—was only good so long as the proof was unattainable. But, as will shortly be shown,

had the Government cared to ascertain facts, they could have been obtained in a few months at any time. The inference is that in the Punjab, as in Bombay, the Government did not desire to face the inconvenient truth. In Bombay it required an insurrection to force the Government to do its duty to the people. In the Punjab that precedent would have been some day repeated, had not the case for energetic action been proved almost in spite of the local Government, and had not India in Lord Curzon possessed a Viceroy who had the courage to accept proven facts and legislate down to the needs and capacities of the Punjab peasantry.

I now come to my own part in bringing about the reform of our system in the Punjab.

In 1870, after an apprenticeship of four years in district work, I was placed in charge of a sub-division of Bannu, called Mianwali, on the left bank of the Indus, a roadless, bridgeless country as large as Devonshire. After two years of this isolation I was appointed settlement officer of Bannu, most of it a wild trans-Indus district, the scene of the earlier exploits of Herbert Edwardes and John Nicholson. For the next seven years I led, for eight months in the year, a gipsy life in camp. I thus spent the most active period of my service working amongst a number of Mohammedan tribes, and gained a practical experience hardly possible in these latter days of centralization, railways, frequent short holidays, and constant changes in the personnel of the district staff. During those years I watched the growth of what I have called "our system." I saw family after family enmeshed by it, and gradually sink under it, until finally they retained but a precarious tenant-right over their lost fields, not through the law, but in spite of it, by terrorizing the new landlords. It was impossible to know those manly, simple-minded tribesmen without sympathizing with them as the victims of a mistaken system. In time I put the case before the Government, and a certain amount of discussion by correspondence followed, but nothing was done. Disheartened but not beaten, I decided to make the reform

of our land-revenue and civil-justice systems the object of my service, and persisted in that determination for twenty years until I retired at the end of 1899, the cause won, though I was not present at the crowning victory.

Unable to rouse Indian officialdom to action by official representations, I next attempted to appeal to those in England interested in the welfare of Indians, by publishing in 1884 an account of the whole case in a small book called "Musalmans and Moneylenders." Going home on furlough soon afterwards, I sent a copy to each member of the Secretary for India's Council, and followed that step up by interviewing the members one by one. Their attitude was sympathetic; but all, except one, were courteously non-committal; they were, they explained, an advising and criticizing, not an initiating, body; unless the local government moved in the matter nothing could be done. The one exception was the late Sir Robert Montgomery. He went thoroughly into the case with me. Convinced that our hard-and-fast system was injuring the Punjabis, he persuaded the Secretary of State for India to have a despatch sent out to the Government of India, drawing attention to my book and indicating his willingness to consider such remedial measures as might commend themselves to that Government. I returned to duty, sanguine that now at last *laissez faire* would be succeeded by prompt inquiry and action. Time passed, but still nothing was done. I had now to recognise that to energise the slow movement of the wheels of the Indian Governmental machine, and overcome the interests, traditions, prejudices, and convictions arrayed against reform, I should have to wait until chance gave India an exceptional man as Viceroy, or the long-suffering people themselves, having learnt combination, should achieve their own deliverance. The interminable discussion was going on all the time. The very benefits conferred by the Deccan Ryots Act were being questioned. Years went by. Officialdom was in labour, and again and again gave birth to the proverbial mouse,

some petty *placebo* only, as if a glass of water would extinguish a big fire.

I was almost despondent when in 1892 Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. Though his experience had been almost wholly in the Secretariat, and his bias of mind was legal, he was known to be able, thorough, and independent. He at once read all the official literature on the subject of land-reform, and in his frank, incisive way said to me, "Half measures won't do. It is the whole hog or nothing." Soon after, perceiving that the statistics of land-transfers were faulty and unreliable, he initiated measures for their improvement. In the cold weather of 1894-95 he marched through my division—I was then Commissioner of Rawalpindi—and in his tour halted in the heart of a country which was sometimes a granary and sometimes a desert. As he approached his camp a great mob of excited peasants, earnest gray-beards most of them, surrounded his horse, some even thrusting horny hands upon the bridle, and kept on shouting at him, "We are ruined, Lord Sahib. The Kirârs (Hindu usurers) and compound interest have robbed us of our lands." He tried to get more precise information, but it was useless. The formula was taken up and repeated by an ever-enlarging circle. Recognising that they had convictions, but small powers of exposition, he rode on through them, to his tents. Strolling that evening with me, he pointed out that economic problems could only be solved by evidence and reason, in which sentiment had no place; to smash a working system of old standing except on clear proof that through it the people were being pauperized and expropriated was impossible.

"You have the evidence, sir," I suggested, "in all the settlement reports and the annual returns of land-transfers."

"But the figures are worth little. For instance, they don't show redemptions; the same land may be mortgaged and redeemed half a dozen times for aught I know."

"If you must have proof positive," I replied, "you can

easily obtain it in the way proposed by me ten years ago. If you will select tracts for general statistics, and then take typical villages in them, and have each original peasant-proprietor's debt and mortgage history worked out before the whole village for the last twenty-five years or so, you will get the facts in a few months, which the superficial inquiries of the last dozen years have failed to bring out."

Next morning His Honour told me that he had been reading "Musalmans and Money-lenders," and was willing to receive a proposal from me for carrying out an inquiry of the kind therein suggested.

Thus empowered, I chose four tracts, two of them well circles near Lahore, a third 100 miles westwards, and a fourth still farther west in the Salt Range. The first three were known to be depressed. The last was supposed to be better circumstanced, though it was a densely populated rain country. This "Hill Circle," as it was called, was the habitat of a strong Mohammedan tribe—the Awāns—who had settled there from Arabia, tradition asserted, many centuries previously. Every rood of available land, both mountain-side and valley, had been laboriously subdued to the plough, and every drop of water utilized to irrigate the thirsty fields. Though short harvests were frequent, the remoteness of the tract from towns, railways, and law-courts had probably so far saved it from exploitation by money-lenders. The four tracts or circles covered an area of about 1,000 square miles, and supported an agricultural population of 300,000 souls scattered throughout 535 villages and hamlets. My first business was, whilst organizing a separate staff for the simultaneous and methodical collection of statistics in each circle, to enlist the co-operation of both sides, money-lenders as well as peasants. My assistants and I spent some weeks in holding open-air meetings in the larger villages, explaining objects and the means by which we hoped to ascertain facts. We everywhere asked and were asked innumerable questions, and by degrees convinced the interested parties that this was to be a

thorough and impartial inquiry. The idea that their debts and mortgages were to be worked out in public at their homes delighted the people, who immediately jumped to the conclusion that at last their *Sarkār* was taking pity upon them, and that when their unfortunate plight was known the *Sarkār* would cancel all their obligations and restore their lost fields. We had difficulty in persuading them that the case had not been prejudged, and that we only wanted to elicit the whole truth with a view to doing justice all round. At first pressure had to be exercised over the money-lenders to induce them to divulge their modes of doing business, and the particulars of their actual transactions. As soon as they realized that evasion would tell against them, and that no wholesale measure of spoliation was contemplated, they accepted the inevitable with a good grace and did all that was required of them, including the production of coolie-loads of account-books, bonds, and other documents. They readily admitted that their present condition was unsatisfactory, as there was gambling uncertainty in their business, the attitude of the agriculturists rendering the execution of decrees and the profitable farming of mortgaged lands always difficult and often impossible. The publicity of all proceedings protected us from the fabrication of evidence, a practice which makes the administration of justice conducted in court-rooms such groping in the dark in India. Men lie with impunity in a court-house at a distance from their homes, but not when sitting in the midst of hundreds who know the truth.

We had plenty of data for our circle statistics, which showed by villages quinquennially from the date of the first settlement the area actually held by each class. The more particular figures required for the holding-by-holding branch of the inquiry presented greater difficulties. I took the three most depressed villages in each circle, and then, starting from the records of the first settlement, about 1860, traced each family's debt and mortgage history down to 1895. We thus ascertained when and why the first debts



had been incurred, and how each debtor's obligations had gradually increased from a mortgage of a few plots, until the whole ancestral holding had been transferred to strangers. Whenever a money-lender prevaricated about some suspicious entry in his books, a dozen voices near him shouted out the unvarnished truth. Similarly whenever a peasant, anxious to conceal that he had borrowed to bribe an official or meet some marriage extravagance, swore he had never received the money, his creditor was not backward in proving the purport of the loan. Naturally each party strove to represent themselves as the victims of "our system" and the other's depravity: the peasantry posed as poor simpletons, ruined by the combination against them, the lending classes as honest business-men, who wished to continue as such, but that the cunning of their debtors and the difficulty of executing decrees compelled some in self-defence to adopt the tricks of usurers. As to remedies, the former contended that, as they must borrow to live and pay the land revenue, it was the duty of the *Sarkār* to procure loans for them on easy terms, repayment being only required of the principal and simple interest after good harvests. The lending classes professed to be willing to reduce their usual rate of annual interest from 36 to 12 per cent., provided that the recovery of the debt was made cheap, quick, and certain. They admitted that the law, as administered, facilitated sharp practices; but, as most of them were men of integrity, a whole class should not be condemned because it contained a few black sheep. They obtained decrees—too easily, perhaps—after a large expenditure; but decrees were often wastepaper, as they could not be executed. They were, therefore, constrained to sell money dear. A loan on a bond was now practically irrecoverable, hence lenders were beginning to make advances on mortgages only; a mortgage with possession was a tangible, though dangerous, security, as mortgagees who insisted on obtaining their legal rights were murdered with impunity; the *Sarkār* failed to protect life and property, and thus failed in the first duties of a

Government. These assertions were always received by the Mohammedans present with gloomy but visible satisfaction—a stroking of beards and muttered assents of *Beshak* ("Of course"). Such statements were always fortified by a string of instances. The fact is, that west of Lahore there is a popular sanction—mischief and murder—which overrides the law, and to some extent mitigates the evils created by it. Wherever the ordinary law is powerless to protect non-agricultural landlords against the vengeance of expropriated owners, a partial corrective is found by the adoption of extraordinary measures: the fining of whole communities, the location of special police upon them, or the demanding of heavy security from all suspects—and in India every man who will not bribe the police is liable to be registered as "a bad character." The grievances of both sides were so true that answer was never possible. "Our system," whilst favouring the longer purse and quicker brain, bleeds debtors and creditors indifferently, collecting from both immense net profits under the head "Law and Justice," yet hedging round the execution of a decree with so many obstructions that, but for the moral pressure it puts upon judgment-debtors, the large majority of law-suits against agriculturists would be infructuous. In the case of decrees for the possession of land on a mortgage-deed, Mohammedan mortgagors in many parts of the Western Punjab so terrorize their supplanters that the mortgagors retain the tenancy on very easy terms. Rick-burning, cattle-poisoning or maiming, and in extreme cases assassination, have hitherto partially protected the peasantry in depressed tracts from the legal consequences of that fatal facility for incurring debt which "our system" so unfortunately fosters. The crime being rarely brought home to its perpetrators, the Government falls back upon the repressive devices already described. When the collective responsibility of communities is thus enforced, the epidemic of lawlessness is kept within bounds; but, even under a rigorous executive, more agrarian outrages are committed

without detection in one year in almost any one of the nine wholly Mohammedan districts of the Punjab, than was the case throughout Ireland during the worst period of the Land League domination. To illustrate the power of the people even in tracts generally classed as law-abiding, I may mention a well-known case in the Rawalpindi district, a country officially regarded as quiet and prosperous. Even there, within a few miles of its large city and cantonment, the peasantry are stronger than the law. The Hindu gentleman known throughout the Punjab as "the Rawalpindi millionaire" never ventured to visit his considerable estates outside his native city except by day, and accompanied by a few of his retainers. He knew that those from whom, with the aid of the law, he had acquired whole villages as well as single farms would murder him if he gave them an opportunity, and that his assassins would be regarded by the country-side as heroes if, as usual, they escaped the gallows, as martyrs in a good cause if hung. He knew and I knew—and many a time we discussed the matter—that, under the apparent indifference with which Moslem fatalism in quiet times bows to misfortune, there lurked an impatience against the Government and a hatred of the money-lending class, which would blaze into deeds of cruel revenge were the executive to show signs of weakness, as had once happened early in the eighties. The loosening of the reins of authority had occurred during the régime of a district magistrate who would not punish without legal proof, yet shrank from the indiscrimination involved in wholesale measures of coercion.

All this, though hardly relevant, serves to throw a sidelight on the attitude of the agricultural mind at the time of my inquiry.

The collecting and sifting of facts occupied us for about six months, after which two more were spent in preparing a report on the whole case.

What was proved may be summed up in a few sentences :

1. Up to 1870 the amount of agricultural indebtedness

and of land alienated to money-lenders was insignificant. Since that year out of the 535 villages for which statistics were collected, in 126 money-lenders were in possession as purchasers and mortgagees of from 31 to 51 per cent. of the cultivated land, in 210 of from 20 to 30 per cent., and in the remaining 148 of from 10 to 20 per cent. only. Further in 360 of the 535 villages the general indebtedness was so large that the eventual expropriation of the great majority of the still unencumbered landowners was inevitable. The largest percentage of the comparatively prosperous villages, 148 in number, were in the remote Hill Circle.

2. Out of the 742 families of peasant proprietors living in the twelve villages in which the inquiry had been carried out holding-by-holding, 444 had lost all their lands, 112 still held some, but were seriously indebted, and 186, though many owed money, had not yet lost any land, chiefly because their agricultural incomes were supplemented from sources outside farming, such as pay from service in the army, or police. In only thirteen cases had a family once indebted extricated itself.

3. In most cases the first considerable debt had been incurred after a bad harvest to pay the land revenue or buy food, seed-grain or plough-cattle.

4. Ordinarily a grain-debt was doubled within two years and a money-debt within three.

5. The Civil Courts of first instance, the judges in which were mostly men of the money-lending classes, being overworked, having each to dispose of annually 3,300 cases in their eleven working months, and being bound by the Contract Act and other laws in force, heard causes perfunctorily, decreeing according to the letter of the balance struck, bond or mortgage deed.

6. Lenders kept agricultural accounts in a loose unbusiness-like manner, because the courts rarely examined accounts, and performed the functions of registrars and collectors of debts rather than of courts of justice.

7. The Punjab Government had persuaded itself that the annual progress of peasant-expropriation by money-lenders was diminishing because the percentages of alienations were calculated on the gross acreage of each village, and not, as should have been the case, on the still unalienated acreage. The fact that alienations cannot long proceed at a high or increasing rate—each acre acquired by a capitalist *pro tanto* reducing the area left to agriculturists—had been overlooked by the Government.

8. In the Hill Circle the peasantry were comparatively unencumbered, presumably because of the length and risks of the journey to the nearest civil courts and the lawless clannishness of the people, factors which caused lenders to pursue their trade with some regard to popular feeling upon fair dealing.

The conclusions of fact as above summarised were not challenged by the Punjab Government, nor was any attempt made to meet the inference that as the tracts examined were representative it was reasonable to presume that, not only in other parts of the Punjab, but generally throughout British India, like causes were producing like results, their gravity varying with local circumstances. Though, except in the circles in which facts had been investigated, there was no absolute proof that money-lenders were absorbing most of the profits of agriculture, all the evidence hitherto collected in the different provinces of India supported the probability that such was the case. Thus an inquiry, pushed with determination for a few months only, settled a controversy which had been dragging on for more than a quarter of a century. That within a generation the birthright of a people, universally acknowledged to be "the finest peasantry in India," had been filched from them by "our system" was a cause of humiliation for the self-sufficient bureaucrats of India. The corollary, too, was equally unpleasant: the most extensive economic achievement of British rule throughout our Eastern Empire had been the reversal of the old relations

between agriculturists and money-lenders, in other words, the elevation of the serving class, a politically negligible body, to that of the legal masters of their former lords, upon whose contentment the security of our rule depended. The Government had now to find a remedy for a peril of their own creation. The people, though dimly conscious of their strength, were still sullenly quiescent, but at any time a no-rent combination of a few hundred determined villagers might excite an outbreak, which would destroy the social fabric of our own construction. If in peaceful Bombay some bloodless rioting in a few villages had frightened the Government into hurriedly reversing the legislation and practices of a century, and substituting therefor a return to the primitive equity of the earliest period of our dominion, a rising amongst the sturdy Punjabis, whose manhood policed the empire, not only on its rough North-West Frontier, but in Burma, China, and even Central Africa, would extort even more drastic concessions.

The danger was now recognised to be indisputable; how, then, was it to be averted? Should we in the Punjab also—"the model province," as it had long been called—retrace our steps, acknowledge error, despoil the money-lenders, proclaim a jubilee, and restore their sold and mortgaged fields to the peasantry?

I had my own scheme for reform, and had set it forth with reasons in my report: *inter alia* the disqualification of non-agriculturists from acquiring more land, except when outlay on wells was required; the enabling of mortgagors to redeem on reasonable terms; the elasticising of the land-revenue system; and, further, the adoption, with modifications, of some of the best-working provisions of the Deccan Ryots Act. My suggestions helped to direct and confine the discussion on remedial action, though they were not acceptable to some officers of weight and judicial experience, who still deprecated drastic changes, deploying as reasons the inviolateness of freedom of contract—as if such freedom is possible between a helpless debtor and his

astute creditor!—the irrevocable character of our gift of full ownership, the danger of tampering with laws founded on the experience of Western nations, and, lastly, the irresistible forces of natural evolution.

Happily for the people and the safety of our rule in India, in 1894 Lord Elgin, a statesman of broad views but, unfortunately, small experience, was sent out as Viceroy. Soon after his assumption of office, he boldly proclaimed that the reform of a system, which was impoverishing the people, was necessary throughout British India, and that, if possible, legislation on the subject would be passed before the expiry of his term as Viceroy. Not having the grasp, material, and support in high places, which are necessary before even the Autocrat of India can carry out any change, however small, much more a great economic revolution, he failed to accomplish his purpose within the time at his disposal. What he could do he did thoroughly. Aided by a sympathetic Revenue Secretary—an old Punjabi, Mr. Denzil Ibbetson—he caused to be drawn up a comprehensive digest of the whole case for land reform throughout British India, and thus prepared the way for action by an abler and more determined ruler of men than himself—Lord Curzon. It was soon after the issue of that digest that the results of my inquiry reached the Government of India. Had Lord Elgin been a stronger man, he would at once have decided to drop his ambitious project of passing a reform measure applicable to the whole of British India, and have pushed one through for the Punjab alone. Instead, he sat still, awaiting the views of the local governments on his own State paper. Between it and the results of my inquiry the official world in the Punjab was greatly exercised. It was now generally conceded that “the people required protection against themselves”—in plain language, that they were simpletons, and should be disabled from ruining themselves. How to do it was the puzzle. The Opposition scouted the cry for equity as a meaningless shibboleth; for, after all, law was codified equity, and

must be carried out ; judges, having sympathies and idiosyncrasies, must be regulated, and used as machines, not arbitrators ; as to restricting credit, seeing that agriculture universally depended on capital, the money-lender was a necessity, and it was better that the odium attaching to his trade should fall on him than on the Government, as it would under any form of agricultural banking under State auspices. Thus, the conflict of views continued in a narrowing circle, until Lord Curzon appeared as the *deus ex machinâ*, and cut the Gordian knot by cutting short further "great argument about it and about," and causing to be introduced into his Council a short, comprehensive Bill which, if passed, would effectually confine the interest of non-agriculturists in arable land to a few years' occupation as mortgagees or lessees and no more.

In the full-dress debate which followed the speech of the member in charge of the Bill—Sir Charles Rivaz—the present Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab—Sir Mackworth Young—who had long opposed any large measure of land-reform, stated that "the object in which all are agreed is to provide a corrective for the results of our own acts, [and] to mitigate the almost revolutionary effects of British rule applied to land-tenures in the Punjab." In closing the discussion, Lord Curzon, addressing outside critics rather than his Council, emphatically endorsed the views of the reform party in the Punjab, and, as regards the merits of the Bill, observed :

"The issues at stake are, in my judgment, as momentous as any that can attract the attention of the Government of India. There is no country in the world that is so dependent upon the prosperity of the agricultural classes as India. There is no government in the world that is so personally interested in agriculture as the Indian Government. We are, in the strictest sense of the term, the largest landlords in creation. Our land-revenues are the staple of our income : upon the contentment and solvency of the millions who live upon the soil is based the security



of our rule. In the present case we have all the greater responsibility from the fact that in the province of the Punjab, with which we are now about to deal, we originated the present land system, which has had the unfortunate consequences that it is proposed to rectify, as well as the legal system which has given the usurer his opportunity. A double responsibility, therefore, rests upon our shoulders. We cannot afford to see the yeomen farmers of the Punjab—the flower of the population and the backbone of our native army—dwindle and become impoverished before our eyes. Neither can we acquiesce in the consummation of a social revolution, which is in contradiction both of the traditions of Indian society and of the cardinal precepts of British rule.”

“ If it be asked why we have selected the Punjab as the field of this experiment, the answer is that there the problem is most serious ; there the evil has reached, or is reaching, the most dangerous dimensions ; and there it possesses a political and social as well as a purely agrarian complexion. But our vision is not centred upon the Punjab alone. This canker of agricultural indebtedness which is eating into the vitals of India . . . is not one of narrow or contracted application, though in particular parts it may be more grave in its incidence than in others. We shall, doubtless, require to handle it in different ways in different areas. We began some years ago after a tentative fashion in the Deccan ; we are now proceeding with a bolder venture in the Punjab. Should we be successful in this enterprise, we shall be encouraged to proceed.”

The Bill was duly published, and the expression of public and expert opinion on its provisions invited. In the nine months allowed for the purpose agriculturists made no sign. Their minds were impenetrable to new ideas, being pre-occupied with the problems of their daily bread and the next land-revenue instalment. On the other hand, the money-lending classes, and those who lived on litigation, once more paraded the stock arguments against land-

reform, predicted the failure of the attempt to stop what they were pleased to regard as progressive evolution, and tried to win over the peasantry to their views by telling them that the Government was confiscating their proprietary rights, and reducing them to the position of Crown tenants. Their efforts to create a popular agitation against the Bill failed.

As introduced, it (1) prohibited the permanent alienation of agricultural land, except to defined agriculturists; (2) only permitted certain forms of temporary alienations to non-agriculturists up to a limit of fifteen years, the land then returning unencumbered to the family of the alienor; (3) disabled alienors from making any further disposition during the currency of the temporary transfer; (4) declared the hypothecation of agricultural produce for more than one year to be illegal; (5) prohibited the execution-sale of agricultural land; and (6) confined jurisdiction under the Bill to Revenue Officers alone.

The measure was finally passed in October last almost as it stood when introduced, excepting that sundry small concessions of doubtful wisdom were made to the Opposition, for instance, the limit for temporary alienation was extended to twenty years, and an agriculturist was empowered to mortgage his proprietary rights to any one for any period, provided that he retained possession of his holding as an occupancy-tenant, paying as rent not more than double the land-revenue assessment thereon. The obvious defects in this remarkable return to paternal government are, I think, two: (1) No sufficient provision is made to facilitate the rise of thrifty farm-labourers to the position of peasant-proprietors; and (2) as capitalist-mortgagees have only a short-term interest in their holdings, every incentive is given them to exploit, none to improve, the land. These two shortcomings will doubtless be remedied upon the first amendment of the Act. The measure of its success will largely depend on the simplicity, comprehensiveness, and practical good-sense of the executive rules framed for its working.

Outside this great act of restitution the Government of India have been slowly moving in other directions with a view to rescue agriculturists from the unfortunate consequences of "our system." A series of small relaxations in laws or rules, some of general application, some limited to the Punjab, have been recently carried out or proposed. Thus, the courts are now empowered to vary contracts—a reform just legalized in England in the new Money-lenders Act,—the law of pre-emption will probably be amended for the Punjab, so as to restore that right in each village to members of the old village community alone, and it is possible that the harsher provisions of the Civil Procedure Code will shortly be softened. On the revenue side a measure of elasticity is being gradually introduced into our fixed land-revenue system, but will not be effective unless, during drought periods, the whole or part of the demand be almost automatically suspended or remitted, and State aid readily and opportunely granted for the purchase of seed-grain or plough-cattle. In addition, the Government of India have announced their intention of establishing State Agricultural Banks, provided that a practical scheme can be devised.

When, if ever, all these reforms—the last, perhaps, excepted—come into operation, and, in addition, the rules of recruitment for judicial and clerical posts under Government be so amended that qualified agriculturists receive a reasonable share of good appointments, "our system," instead of being an instrument for undermining and destroying the ancient village communities of the country, should be their support. That our reproach be speedily taken away from us must be the desire of every well-wisher of our Indian fellow-subjects.

## THE INDIAN BORDERLAND.\*

BY AN OLD PUNJABI.

THE reminiscences of a busy adventurous surveyor in the unmapped countries lying between India and Russia would be interesting, however told; but when told, as in this volume, by a man of culture, observation, and varied attainments, they are fascinating. What Colonel Holdich and his band of able assistants accomplished in the last twenty years was to survey some 300,000 square miles of our Indian north-west borderland and beyond. The crowning achievement was in the author's words the "carrying up link by link a connecting-chain of measurements all the way from India to the Oxus, so as to place every square mile of those regions in its right position on the map of the world, and on the basis of those measurements to extend our mapping so as to leave nothing obscure regarding our own strategical position on the Indian frontier in relation to Russia's position on the far north-west."

He and his assistants, European and Indian, were practically on active service as trans-frontier surveyors from 1878 to 1898. Within that period he personally took part in ten wars, expeditions, and demarcations. To each he allots one or more chapters, prefacing the personal narrative with an account of the political events which induced the Government to substitute action for diplomacy. Whether our operations were warlike or peaceful, he records successes and mistakes with the impartial freedom of a man whom the rules of the Government service no longer compel to silence or the glossing over of the truth. The large events in which a survey party plays an unobtrusive part are used as a setting for his professional experiences. So skilfully is this done that when the reader lays down the book he is almost persuaded that the millions poured out during the

\* "The Indian Borderland, 1880-1900," by Colonel Sir T. Hungerford Holdich, K.C.I.E., C.B., F.S.A. Methuen and Co.

last twenty years, in the unappropriated countries lying between Russia and India in Central Asia, were chiefly valuable on account of the extensive and exact geographical knowledge which the protection of our troops enabled the survey parties to obtain.

The story opens with the Afghan War of 1878-1880, and the author immediately foreshadows the lesson to be learnt from the record of his wanderings, namely, that with proper map-knowledge, acquired before the event, half our political misunderstandings with Russia and Afghanistan, and some even of our military blunders, would have been avoided. Colonel Holdich asserts that until some years after the last Afghan War "the spirit of scepticism as to the military value of map-knowledge was abroad," and that to Russia's early recognition of the immense value of exact geographical—and we may add political—information much of her uncostly successes in Central Asia have been due. Our present war with the Boers illustrates the truth of the general proposition. Sprinkled throughout the charming descriptions of scenery and quaint anecdotes portraying Afghan characteristics are useful comments on frontier policy, hill-fighting, and transport, all of which afford melancholy proof of the want of foresight and callousness about expenditure with which the Indian Government have hitherto entered upon great enterprises. As regards our ignorance before 1878, the author ascribes it in part to what was called "the close-border system," which shut us out from discovering the trend of events in Central Asia, and acquiring the geography of the vast territories which we sought to earmark as within our exclusive sphere of influence. As to the value of the British soldier for rough hill-fighting, and consequently as an escort for surveyors, Colonel Holdich says, "The mountain-bred Sepoy of Northern India, be he Gurkha or Afridi or Rajput of the hills, is as much superior to the European soldier in mobility amongst mountains as the Oorial (or mountain sheep) is to the Southdown." Had Sir George White in 1897 realized

that fact, he would have included more native troops of the right classes than he did in his Tirah Field Force, and would have organized a corps of scouts before we entered Tirah. As it was, we did nothing until the Afridis had given us some practical lessons in the arts of guerilla fighting, and the right uses of cover; we then improvised a scratch company of scouts, and splendid work they did.

The Afghan campaigns ended, a "little war" against the Mahsud Waziris in 1881 enabled the author's party to map in the collection of mountains immediately west of our frontier cantonment of Derah Ismail Khan. The sort of work our troops have repeatedly had to do when punishing the Mahsuds is compressed into one pithy paragraph. "Villages," Colonel Holdich writes, "which can be rebuilt in a week were destroyed in a few hours. Towers were blown up here and there, and the cave strongholds were purified and disinfected with gunpowder. Obviously *they* could not be blown up; but the contents were blown out of them, including such a myriad of fleas that their awful slaughter found a place in despatches."

The expedition over, and another large gap in our frontier maps filled in, there stood out blank in the sheet directly to the south of Waziristan the country surrounding the mysterious peak known in all geographies as "Solomon's Throne." It towered just beyond British territory fully 11,000 feet above the plain, and had hitherto been untrodden by European feet. A plea for a survey expedition to its top was easily found, and in November, 1883, the survey party, escorted by a Brigade of Indian troops, started for the inviolate peak. The ascent had to be made from its reverse or western side, hence the Suliman Range had first to be crossed. A more risky excursion could hardly be imagined; the route was a *terra incognita*; whether springs existed or not was doubtful, and if rain fell during the passage through the defiles the consequences were certain to be disastrous. As it was, the advance came to a standstill for two days because of the bulkiness of the strawstacks—

compressed fodder was then unknown—carried by some 1,300 camels. The General had omitted to bring proper explosives, and in the narrowest part of the cleft through the range, which was the only way to traverse it, a fallen rock rose like a wall to a height of 50 feet, and closed the road. Slowly and laboriously the Sepoys made a ramp to the top of the rock, then carried the stacks over, and re-loaded them on the other side. Two illustrations from photographs of that forbidding nullah are given. Had a freshet come down or a few Mahsuds or Sheranis rolled rocks on the pioneers as they worked, Colonel Holdich would not have reached his Pisgah that year. As it was, the expedition was successful, and added 40,000 square miles to our geographical knowledge.

In the following year the survey party was attached to the Russo-Afghan Boundary Commission. The Indian section was on a colossally lavish scale, 1,600 men and as many baggage-animals, carrying tents and stores "such as might serve for royal banquets in the Turkestan wilderness." The intention was "that the English Commission should carry with it the prestige of India's wealth and greatness" to the dwellers in Turkestan, "and I think they were impressed—finally," adds the author with naïf candour. As regards the composition of the *personnel* of the Mission, he thinks there were too many politicals. "What might be wanting in strength in the geographical section of that Commission," he says, "was made up in weight of political counsel." There were, it appears, nineteen politicals; but, as everything of importance was referred to Downing Street, there was little for them to do. As a fact, we believe, half of them were pressed for survey work. Colonel Holdich thinks a working party of surveyors, with one or two political officers and an Afghan escort, might have done the mapping and collected the information required, after which the boundary might have been laid down in detail in London or St. Petersburg. However that may be, the story of the Mission, its weary marches,

its wearier waiting the pleasure of the Russians on the spot, and a vacillating Ministry at home, its encouraging the Afghans to fight at Panjdeh, and then deserting them, the Amir's varying moods, and our final success after Russia had gained all she wanted, and England and India had spent some millions, all is told graphically and succinctly in eighty-five pages of interesting narrative. The account concludes with a short but comprehensive disquisition on the linking up of the railway systems of England and Russia in Central Asia.

After a surveying excursion to southern Baluchistan and the Persian Gulf, Colonel Holdich's next occupation—one that engrossed him from 1893 to 1898, when he retired—was in connection with the series of untoward events created by our attempts to execute what is known as the "Durand Agreement." By it the Amir of Afghanistan acknowledged that the hinterlands of the independent tribes between his and India's undisputed borders appertained to India, and should be definitely detached from Afghanistan. The Amir signed the agreement for a consideration—the enhancement of his annual subsidy from £80,000 to £120,000, but would have nothing to say to the rather sketchy maps referred to in the said agreement. The transaction, though a diplomatic triumph for the retiring Viceroy, Lord Lansdowne, was the cause of trouble, expenditure, and humiliation for his successor, Lord Elgin. Though the Amir was pocketing his large subsidy, he had every intention of thwarting us should we attempt to lay down the boundary-line to which he had agreed. The Government of India left most of it alone for a time, and began delimitations with the Pamirs—the "roof of the world" region. A delightful chapter is devoted to the work done in that lofty, lifeless watershed of great ranges and rivers, where meet not only three empires—Russia, China, and India—but the Himalayas and the Hindu Kush and the sources of the Indus and the Oxus. The Pamirs settled, Colonel Holdich was appointed Commissioner for the demarcation of an outstanding portion of



the Perso-Baluch boundary-line. He narrates his work there in an amusing chapter. At the outset he encountered a novel difficulty. He was only a British Colonel, whereas the representative of the Shah was a Governor and a Prince of the royal blood to boot. Such a personage could not call first. The question of precedence greatly exercised the punctilious Persians. After a discussion, which exceeded the longest continuous sitting in the House of Commons, our Commissioner conceded the knotty point, and agreed to be the first to pay a ceremonial visit in full uniform. The call was duly returned, and then matters went smoothly to the finish.

The independent Pathan tribes between India and Afghanistan had now to be taken in hand. As the cairns of stones had to be put up by British officers along the extreme line of the tribal hinterlands towards Afghanistan, the independent clans of the borderland naturally regarded our proceedings as the outward sign of their annexation by India. They had not been consulted about the agreement, and knew nothing until their Mullās preached a holy war of independence against the greedy infidels. These priests were secretly backed by the Amir, and in the case of Chitral, at least, actively aided by the Amir's soldiers, absent without leave according to his Highness. Then followed in rapid succession the Maizar massacre, the siege of our extemporized fort in Chitral, our occupation of the Malakand Pass overlooking the Swat Valley, the sudden rush of the tribes, headed by "the Mad Mullā," upon our garrison there, the defeat and collapse of the tribes, the raid of the Mohmands upon our Shabkadar outpost, the slow collection of a great army about Peshawar, our desertion of the Afridi militia in our forts in the Khyber, the consequent rising of the Oraksais and Afridis against us, and the invasion of Tirah by our overwhelming but unwieldy army. Of our pusillanimous abandonment of the Khyber, Colonel Holdich paints a vivid and even painful picture, and, having done so, tells us that the scene depicted is so humiliating for Englishmen that it should not be looked upon. "Over

that little episode," he says, "of the withdrawal of the British officer who should have headed the Khyber defence, and the abandonment of the pass to its fate, it is best to draw a veil." If so, the wonder is why he exhibited his picture at all.

The book concludes with a critical review of our present position along our north-west political frontier, and a forecast of what must, the author holds, eventually happen—the gradual contraction of the distance between the Indian and Russian boundaries in Central Asia until they meet. To round off the narrative a short history of Afghanistan is given in an appendix.

Colonel Holdich has been fortunate in his talents and career. Long ago he stood out amongst his contemporaries as a successful landscape-painter. He next gradually built up for himself a reputation as an energetic surveyor of new countries, and now by this service-autobiography of his he takes high rank as a political geographer and penetrating observer of men and things. Throughout the 397 closely printed pages of his reminiscences he is always interesting, and often brilliant in realistic descriptions. Indeed, his word-pictures are as fresh and vivid as in bygone days were his paintings. If we must criticise, we think he sometimes descends unnecessarily into describing ephemeral details, and everywhere presupposes an antecedent acquaintance with his subject possessed only by frontier officers and students of Central Asian affairs.

## THE CONGO FREE STATE.

BY H. R. FOX BOURNE.

GREAT BRITAIN and the other European nations that took part in the Berlin Conference of 1884-85 are in some respects as much involved as is Belgium in the affairs of the Congo Free State which have been the subject of vigorous controversy in and out of Brussels for several weeks. The immediate issues are, of course, more momentous to the Belgians than to any others, seeing that the Congo State has come to be a sort of Belgian possession nearly a hundred times as large as the country destined to be its owner, and that the present or prospective ownership carries with it risks and obligations infinitely graver than those from which our own "Little Englanders" shrink. But the interests of all European participants in the "scramble for Africa" which was formally started by the Berlin Conference are seriously affected by faults in the administration of the territory in question, and with them, as its creators, is the ultimate responsibility for any violations of international law or offences against humanity that may be committed in it.

It will be remembered that the Berlin Conference was convened by the German Government, under the presidency of Prince Bismarck, to settle difficulties that had arisen among rival claimants for the appropriation of African territories, especially in the regions of the Congo and the Niger, and that, while this conference was being prepared for and during its progress, King Leopold, as the founder of what was afterwards styled the Congo Free State, and what till then had been ostensibly an international organization for the spread of civilization in Central Africa, obtained for it recognition by the United States and the several European nations as an independent State. The arrangement was confirmed by the Berlin Conference on the explicit understanding that within the

area assigned to the State, as part of the "free trade zone" delimited by the Conference, there should be absolute equality of commerce for all civilized nations having dealings with its inhabitants or developing its resources, and that the "moral and material welfare of the indigenous populations" should be safeguarded and promoted.

The first of the two conditions, encroached upon by several edicts and ordinances of the Congo State during the first five years of its existence, was modified by the Brussels Conference of 1889-90, to the extent of allowing an *ad valorem* duty of 10 per cent. to be charged on all imports in consideration of the expenses to be incurred by the State in complying with the second condition, and particularly in suppressing the slave trade. Thus authorized and strengthened, the Congo State has been able by degrees to bring under more or less effective control large portions of the territory of over 900,000 square miles entrusted to it, and of a native population variously estimated at from twelve to twenty millions. It has also, by evading its international obligations, been able to draw from the country, through its own activity or that of the numerous trading concerns chartered by it, enormous supplies of ivory and rubber, as well as to initiate enterprises for the cultivation of coffee, cocoa, tea, tobacco, and other tropical produce. In 1892 it claimed as *domaine privé* at least three-fourths of the whole territory, and nearly every part of it which was considered to be of any present or prospective value. In this domain, "the State alone," according to its official apologist, "either itself, or by the companies in which it has powerful interests, may collect ivory and rubber";\* and the companies thus privileged, in most if not all of which the State holds half the shares, or from which, at any rate, it draws half the profits, have been so prosperous that one of them, and not the most profitable, the Société Anversoise du Commerce au Congo, was able in 1898 to pay a dividend of nearly

\* A. J. Wauters, "L'État Indépendant du Congo," p. 403.

235 per cent., or 3,986,832 francs, on its capital of 1,700,000 francs. The income estimated for in the annual Budgets of the State, as to be obtained from the *domaine privé*, amounted in 1894 to barely 300,000 francs; but in 1897 it was 3,500,000 francs, in 1898 it was 6,700,000 francs, and it is now certainly much larger. These figures, however, but feebly indicate the actual gains of the Congo "exploiters," seeing that the private accounts of the *domaine privé* are carefully withheld from the public. The extent of the gains can be better understood, though still no more than guessed, from the vast increase of Antwerp trade with the Congo which is manifest to all, and from the notorious accumulations of wealth in recent years by all the "exploiters," of whom the chief, as the autocratic owner of the Congo State, is the King of the Belgians.

As manifest and notorious are the violations of the second of the two conditions to which the founders of the Congo State were pledged by the Berlin Conference, and for observance of which the European Powers represented at that Conference solemnly pledged themselves. However humane may have been the original intentions of King Leopold and his associates in starting the enterprise, it speedily sank to the level of an ordinary money-making concern, in which all the so-called civilization provided for the natives was their systematic enslavement by white masters, in lieu of the rougher and ruder and more fitful enslavement by black masters to which they had been for centuries exposed. Of this the most glaring evidence is furnished by the expeditions on which, in ostensible compliance with the humanitarian proposals of the Brussels Conference, Baron Dhanis was for three years engaged in hunting down the pseudo-Arab slave-traders on the west of Lake Tanganyika and of Stanley Falls, of whom Tippu Tib was the foremost leader. Tippu and his followers had set up a tyranny, with Nyangwe as its base, which was on many grounds reprehensible, but in some respects preferable to the tyrannies it replaced, and, being on the

whole more beneficial than injurious to its victims, was so regarded by those of them who were not deported as slaves to the East African Coast. On this point Captain Hinde's "Fall of the Congo Arabs," detailing his experiences as one of Baron Dhanis's lieutenants, is incontrovertible testimony. The so-called Arabs had rescued the natives of this part of Central Africa from the raiding of cannibal hordes in order to procure ivory and slaves for outside markets, and those whom they did not dispose of as slaves they civilized after a fashion. Coveting the ivory trade and other advantages opened out by the so-called Arabs, Baron Dhanis's employers procured their overthrow by help of the cannibal hordes inimical to them, and then proceeded to enslave the down-trodden natives on their own account, and to utilize the cannibal hordes as mercenaries of the Congo State. The subsequent misfortunes of the luckless natives is part of the general history of Congoland persecutions which in the past six or seven years have followed the experiments of the previous six or seven years. The desperate efforts of Baron Dhanis and others to control the turbulent cannibal hordes whom he enlisted in the *force publique*, and who have ever since been in revolt, working havoc wherever they have been driven, form a separate chapter in Congo history which is not yet closed.

Meanwhile the "exploitation" of Congo natives, in every district that could be reached or oppressed by the agents of the Congo State, has made vigorous progress. In defiance of its obligations to respect the rights of the natives, and to promote as far as possible their "material and moral well-being," successive edicts and ordinances have since 1886 been issued and arbitrarily enforced, practically depriving them of all the land on which their huts and villages were not actually planted, and for which they had not titles satisfactory to European lawyers, but altogether unknown to savages—that is, excluding them from all the plains and forests, the hills and rivers, from which they had hitherto drawn their subsistence. An early and con-

spicuous illustration of the lawlessness is in a circular addressed in 1892 by Lieutenant Le Marinel, the State's agent in the Ubangi-Welle district, to the European traders in the Upper Congo, in which he said: "I have decided to enforce vigorously the rights of the State in its domain, and, as a consequence, cannot allow the natives to convert to their own profit, or to sell to others, any part of the rubber which forms the fruits of that domain. Traders who purchase such fruits of the domain from the natives, which fruits the State only authorizes the natives to gather subject to the condition that they are brought to it, render themselves guilty of receiving stolen goods."

The immediate purpose of this circular and of others that followed was to warn off unlicensed European traders, and to uphold against them the State's monopoly in its *domaine privé*; and to the same policy may be attributed the dishonest success and scandalous misdeeds of such companies, privileged by the State, as the Société Anversoise, of which ex-Major Lothaire, the assassinator of Mr. Stokes, is now the manager, and which has not yet overcome the Mongala rebellion provoked by his atrocities. But it involved the ruin of the natives. Simultaneously with the growth and prosperity of privileged companies, and the enrichment of their royal and other licensors and partners, has been the subjection of the people, wherever it could be established, to more cruel bondage and worse doom than they had experienced under oppressors of their own race. The *Bulletin Officiel*, issued monthly from the headquarters of the Congo Government in Brussels, although some of the most reprehensible edicts are excluded from it, and apologetic and misleading "reports" are frequent in it, affords authoritative and the most conclusive evidence of the grinding tyranny that has been established. For illustration of the working of this tyranny we must go to the unofficial statements that, in spite of all efforts to suppress them, appear from time to time in the newspapers as to wholesale persecutions and wide-spread

risings in this, that, and other regions of murderous "exploitation." But it has been sufficiently condemned in the authoritative treatise on "*Droit et Administration de l'État Indépendant du Congo*," by Professor Cattier, a friendly and semi-official exponent of the policy in force. After detailing the methods by which the *domain privé* is administered, by help of underpaid white officials and the barbarous and servile *force publique* at their beck and call, for their own gain and that of the State and its privileged companies, Mr. Cattier says, "The régime is one of absolute despotism. There is nothing to prevent the native chief being compelled, under the pretext of taxation, to furnish labour beyond his capacity, to be exploited and ruined. It is a system calculated to legitimize spoliation and injustice. It places the natives at the mercy of officials who have a personal interest in imposing the most onerous prestations and in exacting their fulfilment with rigour" (p. 331).

Efforts are persistently made in official quarters to discredit and discount all unofficial statements that have been made as to the working of this vicious system, and it is, of course, easy to assert, and difficult to deny, that the authors of the statements are prejudiced and exaggerate the facts with which they deal. But no attempts have been made to disprove such statements, and their substantial truth has, in most cases, been admitted. It was ostensibly with a view to the prevention of acknowledged "acts of violence of which natives may be victims" that in 1896 six missionaries were selected to serve on "a permanent commission charged with the protection of natives throughout the territory of the State." These missionaries, however, are too busy in their own limited and isolated mission-fields to be able seriously to concern themselves in what is going on elsewhere, and, if they do so concern themselves, they have no power to do more than "point out" abuses and suggest remedies which the authorities can and do ignore with impunity.



One illustration, by no means the most monstrous, nor the most recent, may suffice to show what abominations go on even within easy reach of the centre of government in the Congo, and how impotent are missionary efforts to get them checked or punished. The following is the text of a temperate letter addressed to the Sovereign of the Congo State, twenty months ago, by the acting head of the American Presbyterian Mission in the Kasai district, of whose pacific inhabitants, the Bakuba, Mr. Bateman, after visiting them in 1889, wrote: "To say nothing of such recommendations as their emancipation from fetishism, their ancient abandonment of cannibalism, their heretofore most happy experience of Europeans, and their national unity, I believe them to be the most open to the best influences of civilization of any African tribe whatever."

"TO HIS MAJESTY LEOPOLD II., KING OF THE BELGIANS AND  
SOVEREIGN OF THE CONGO INDEPENDENT STATE.

"LUEBO, October 21, 1899.

"SIRE,

"Hoping that you are interested in all that pertains to the advancement of civilization, justice, and humanity within the bounds of the Congo Independent State, and trusting that you are equally desirous of doing all that you can in your exalted position as Sovereign to better the condition of millions of human beings in the Great Congo Valley, I write, representing the American Presbyterian Congo Mission, to inform you that certain terrible outrages, almost too heathenish to imagine, are being daily perpetrated upon an innocent people, and that, too, with the authority and sanction of certain officials of the State, as we believe.

"We have some hope that the condition of these poor people will be bettered if we can bring these facts before you personally, and that is the reason we venture to write to you.

"At the State post of Luluabourg, about five days' march from Luebo, there is a large settlement of Zappo-Zaps, a strong, revengeful, cannibalistic tribe, who are retained as soldiers and vassals by the State. These Zappo-Zaps, armed as they are, and sent out by the State to collect tribute for the Government and other purposes, are a terror to the whole region; they are the great slave-dealers of this section—a traffic which the State is supposed to be making efforts to suppress.

"A company of these Zappo-Zaps from Luluabourg, sent out evidently by the Chef de Zone to collect tribute and slaves, had been operating for two months or more in the vicinity of the native village of Chinyuma, only a few hours from our mission station at Bo-Nzadi (Ibanche). They had

been plundering, murdering, burning neighbouring villages, and capturing slaves. The people of these villages are absolutely innocent and harmless. Their only crime is that they are unarmed, and consequently cannot resist these bands of plunderers and murderers, armed and sent out by your State officers for the ostensible purpose of collecting tribute.

"As the whole region in the vicinity of our mission was in a state of terror, the mission sent one of our missionaries located at Bo-Nzadi—the Rev. W. H. Sheppard, F.R.G.S.—to investigate the whole affair, to see whether the Zappo-Zaps were acting with or without the authority of the State. Mr. Sheppard has returned, and reports having witnessed with his own eyes the most horrible outrages.

"I only mention a few of these facts that you may form, if you can, a faint conception of what is going on here.

"Within a distance of ten or twelve hours, thirteen villages have been deserted and plundered, six other villages burned. Mr. Sheppard went to the camp of the Zappo-Zaps, where he found several hundred of them, with one of their own number as leader—*there was no white officer in charge*. Here the Zappo-Zaps had made a large stockade, into which, a few days before, they had invited all the chiefs and sub-chiefs of the neighbouring villages and their women. When they were well inside, tribute of rubber, ivory, and slaves was demanded, which they were unable to pay. Thereupon they were fired upon by the Zappo-Zaps inside the stockade, and many were shot down, only a few escaping to tell the story.

"Outside of this stockade Mr. Sheppard saw and counted between forty and fifty dead bodies. He saw three with the flesh carved off the bones. (It is known that the Zappo-Zaps are cannibals, and the leader of the company acknowledged that his people had eaten the flesh.)

"Mr. Sheppard saw eighty-one hands cut off and drying over a slow fire. (The leader said that these hands were to be taken back to the Chef de Zone at Luluabourg.) He saw other bodies mutilated. The Zappo-Zaps had sixty women prisoners, and the leader said that he had sent sixteen men to the Chef de Zone.

"He also saw six regular army rifles; he also saw two rifles of the Martini-Henry type, and a belt full of cartridges. The leader said that these rifles had been given to him by the Chef de Zone. The leader also said that he had powder and caps (capsules) given him also by the Chef de Zone for the percussion-cap guns, of which kind Mr. Sheppard saw many.

"A State flag was flying on a tall pole inside the stockade. The leader also said that he had been instructed by the Chef de Zone to burn all the villages which refused to pay the tribute asked. He opened up all to Mr. Sheppard. He showed no fear, and said he was doing all under direction of the Chef de Zone.

"We are prepared to prove that Mulumba Ukusa, the leader, and his people are from Luluabourg, the State post, where the Zappo-Zaps are kept under close surveillance by the State.

"We can also prove that the country raided was not over five days' marching for a white man, and four days for a native, from Luluabourg.

"We can also prove that there are at least two small State outposts between Luluabourg and the scene of the barbarities.

"We can also prove that these outrages were going on for two months or more.

"The Commissaire of the district writes us that he heard of the misdoings of Mulumba Ukusa, and had sent soldiers to Muanza Ngnua to catch him and his people. He says the soldiers could not find Mulumba Ukusa there, and the tone of his letter seems to imply that he made no further effort to find him. Is it possible for the soldiers to go within perhaps a day and a half of the scene of such outrages, the facts of which were already known far and wide, and yet say that they could hear nothing of the whereabouts of Mulumba Ukusa? The question answers itself.

"In view of all the above facts, is it not painfully evident that the Chef de Zone and the Commissaire—especially the former—are at least guilty of criminal neglect of duty? Moreover, we believe the facts will prove that the Chef de Zone is directly implicated in equipping and sending out Mulumba Ukusa and his people.

"We beg to submit to Your Majesty these facts in this special case; but we believe similar outrages have been going on out here in the Kasai district for a long time, but in remote districts where it is impossible to see and learn the exact facts. Almost daily slaves are brought down here to Luebo by these same Zappo-Zaps and exposed for sale. In their sad story these slaves tell us of their capture by the Zappo-Zaps, of the murder of their friends, and of the plundering of their villages.

"The fact that Mulumba Ukusa and his people know so well how to do their work shows quite conclusively that they have done it perhaps many times before.

"We believe that the Zappo-Zaps are not primarily to blame, for they are armed and sent out by the State, but we do believe that all State officials, from the highest to the lowest, who give their sanction to such outrages are to be blamed, and we hope and pray that sure and swift justice will be visited upon all who are thus implicated in inflicting these outrages upon an innocent and helpless people; and that, too, under the guise of a so-called civilized Government.

"We attribute many of these outrages to the *iniquitous tribute system* in vogue throughout the State, which is often used as a plea for the *punishment*, as the State calls it, of those who cannot or will not pay the tribute asked.

"M. le Substitut Meurice and M. le Commissaire Van Bredail have come to investigate the affair. The poor natives are in such dread of the State and all people connected with it, that this very night, within a radius of seventy-five miles from Luebo, at least 40,000 people are sleeping in the forests, and that, too, in the midst of the rainy season. Is it the purpose of Your Majesty and others high in authority in State affairs that the Government here shall be one of terror and tyranny?

"We, as a mission, have always shown our loyalty to the State, and it has always been our policy to urge upon the natives over whom we have any influence the supreme authority of the State. We have always given

the State our encouragement and support in all lawful endeavours to preserve order and administer justice, and we shall continue to do so. But we feel it our duty, in the name of justice and humanity, to report to you this affair of deepest wrong, believing that you will graciously consider these facts worthy of your consideration and interest, and that you will use your exalted position as Sovereign to bring the really guilty to punishment.

"Most obediently yours, in the cause of justice and humanity,

"W. M. MORRISON,

"Representing the mission in absence of Rev. D. W. Snyder."

The answer to that pathetic appeal was terse and cynical: "Avant d'avoir reçu votre communication," it was replied on February 23, 1900, "le Gouvernement de l'État Indépendant du Congo était informé des charges portées contre les Zappo-Zaps, et la justice en était saisie, et indignait."

"Justice" exhausted itself in "indignation." Nothing appears to have been done to punish the wrong-doers or prevent the continuance of wrong-doing in this and other parts of the Congo State's territory.

By such methods, and with such violation of the terms upon which the Berlin Conference sanctioned its promotion, the Congo Free State has expanded during the past sixteen years as, to all intents and purposes, the personal property of the King of the Belgians, who was authorized by the Belgian Parliament to take upon himself the office of Sovereign of the Congo State on the understanding that the union between it and Belgium should be "exclusively personal."

"King of the Belgians," His Majesty announced in a document dated April 16, 1885, "I shall be at the same time Sovereign of another State. This State, like Belgium, will be independent, and, like it, will enjoy the benefits of neutrality. Between the two the only link will be a personal one."

Another link, however, was soon created. The difficulty of recognising and harmonizing in one and the same office-holder the functions and duties of the King of a constitutional monarchy in Europe, subject to Parliamentary advice and control, and those of the Sovereign of a huge territory

in Africa, over which he was free to establish as absolute a despotism as he was strong enough to maintain, called for special legislation in 1887 and 1889. And in the latter year, mainly with a view to lightening the financial burdens weighing upon him, King Leopold made and published the following will: "Desiring to assure to our well-beloved country the fruits of the work which for many years past we have pursued in the African continent with the generous and devoted support of many Belgians, anxious also to secure for Belgium, if it desires them, the indispensable outlets for its commerce and industry and to expand in new ways the activity of its children: we, by these presents, assign and transmit to Belgium after our death all our Sovereign rights in the Congo Free State, as recognised by the declarations, conventions, and treaties entered into since 1884 with foreign Powers, and all the benefits and advantages attached to that Sovereignty. Until the Belgian Legislature has accepted these dispositions the Sovereignty will be collectively exercised by the three Administrators of the State and its Governor-General."

On the strength of this bequest, as had been intended and arranged for, the Belgian Parliament, on July 3, 1890, sanctioned a Convention with the Congo State, in accordance with which the Belgian Government was to pay the Congo Government—whose three Administrators and Governor-General were merely the nominee and agents of the autocratic Sovereign—5,000,000 francs at once and 2,000,000 francs a year for ten years, without charging interest, on the understanding that, on the expiry of the ten years and six months' grace, Belgium should have the option of either taking over the Congo State without further payment or of converting the loan of 25,000,000 francs into a debt at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. interest, the principal of which could not be recovered for another ten years.

This is the Convention which has given risen to and precipitated the present controversy between King Leopold and the Belgian Parliament. Strictly speaking, the Con-

vention has lapsed, and a fresh arrangement ought to have been come to before January 3, 1901, but by mutual agreement the settlement was postponed till May, and is still being vigorously discussed.

The situation has been somewhat complicated by the fact that, although King Leopold was pledged to borrow no other money on the security of the Congo State, he obtained in 1895 a loan of 5,000,000 francs at 6 per cent. interest from the Bank of Antwerp, now amounting to about 6,850,000 francs. This transaction being objected to in the Belgian Parliament, it was invited either to annex the Congo Free State at once or to take over the additional loan, and it chose the latter alternative, thus affording an excuse for the contention put forward a few weeks ago, without good reason, that the Belgian Parliament by its action in 1895 had surrendered its right of annexation, and is not now at liberty to do more than claim payment of interest on the accumulated loan of about 31,850,000 francs for the next ten years, after which the principal can also be claimed, unless in the interval the King's demise, without his will of 1889 having been cancelled, has placed it in possession of the African territory with all its assets and liabilities. This contention, however, appears to have been found too preposterous to be seriously insisted upon, and the solution of the problem has been left to the acrimonious discussions that have been going on in the Belgian Parliament, and the more momentous negotiations and machinations over which cliques and wire-pullers are busy in the purlieus of the Brussels Chambers.

To understand the present situation, it must be borne in mind that a large section of the Belgian people, represented in their Parliament by the Extreme Left or Democratic and Socialistic members, has from the first objected to the existence of the Congo State, and to the nation being made responsible for its alleged misdeeds and the risks and obligations incurred by it. The State is an abomination in itself, they say, too heinous and pernicious for Belgium to

have anything to do with it, and one that, if it were annexed to the Belgian kingdom, would be an even greater obstacle than it is now to the healthy management of home affairs, and a constant danger to the independence of their little country through the jealousies that such a possession would expose it to from French, German, and other mightier sharers in the "scramble for Africa." These plausible strictures asserted themselves in the debates on the Convention of 1890, and more forcibly and noisily in the debates on the compromise of 1895. They are an important factor in the issues of 1901. Other objectors of former days, the more discreet among the Catholics, and the financiers and others who found themselves excluded from the *domaine privé*, and diversely handicapped in their race for wealth, have been for the most part conciliated. Catholic loyalty to the Crown (whether of Belgium or of the Congo) has been strengthened by fear of the Socialists. And financial interests have been to a large extent bought over. In the crowd of chartered companies and trading concerns subordinate to them, thousands of capitalists and speculators hold shares now worth fifteen or twenty or thirty times their original price, and more solid profits are obtained by the growth of commerce and manufactures that is enriching Antwerp and every other centre of business enterprise. The Sovereign of the State has therefore a strong, if heterogeneous and not always a sympathetic or harmonious backing for his present aim, that aim being manifestly and avowedly the prevention of any change in the administration of the State's affairs which will weaken his authority or lessen the advantages that its exercise brings to him. The level-headed and practical public men in Belgium who have been striving to bring about a safe and amicable arrangement have had a hard task before them.

The leading champion of this policy is M. Beernaert, the eminent lawyer and ex-premier, who—having zealously protested against a proposal put forward by the present head of the Belgian Government, M. de Smet de Naeyer,

for a vague ten years' extension of the Convention of 1890, without payment of the loan or interest upon it, and without any fresh provision for the management or disposal of the Congo State—introduced an alternative measure into the Chamber of Deputies at the end of May. M. Beernaert's Bill embodied a declaration that the territories of the Congo State were, by virtue of the Convention of 1890, "henceforth the property of Belgium, together with all prerogatives, rights, advantages, and sovereignty attaching thereto, and also with all the responsibilities of the said State towards third parties," but allowed two years for the preparation of "a special *régime*, or *loi organique*, in its legislative administration and judicial aspects, for the new Belgian possession," and directed that "during the said two years the administration of the territories should be carried on under the same conditions as at present."

M. Beernaert's compromise, it might have been expected, would have been agreed to by King Leopold, seeing that it merely accepted his offer of 1890, giving Belgium the option of annexing the Congo State in 1900, and left time, which could easily have been extended from the two years proposed, for the necessary administrative changes. This, however, has not been the case. The whole matter having been referred to a Special Commission, or what in England would be called a Select Committee, of the Belgian Parliament, its sitting on June 11 was interrupted by the reading of a letter from the King, which was indignantly described by some of the members as "an unprecedented personal intervention on his part in a debate in which the Chamber was supposed to have the power of expressing its views freely." "If annexation was actually voted," His Majesty wrote, "that is to say, before the time has arrived when the Free State is able to assure to Belgium all the advantages which I desire should accrue to her, the Congo Administration would naturally refuse to participate in a sort of hybrid government which in reality would be mere chaos and could only produce, both internally and externally,



friction and loss. Is it conceivable that a State can be annexed, and yet be compelled to carry on its government *ad interim*? For it must be acknowledged that Belgium is not ready for such a step, and is at the moment unable to provide a substitute for the present administration." In effect, therefore, King Leopold angrily says to the Belgian people, "If you do take over the Congo State before I find it convenient to hand it over to you in fulfilment of my solemn and reiterated pledges, you will do so at your peril. You must not expect me, or any of my officials, to help you in tiding over the time required for effecting the necessary reforms which you may think humane or equitable, but which I regard impertinent and uncalled for. I either remain the absolute and irresponsible master of the State, doing with its sources of wealth and its natives as I choose, or I leave it in such confusion that it will be madness for you to have anything to do with it."

That is the present deadlock, and under pressure more successfully brought to bear upon him and his associates than was that attempted in somewhat similar conditions by our own Charles I. on the turbulent patriots of the English Parliament nearly three centuries ago, M. Beernaert withdrew his Bill on June 13. How the Belgian Parliament will deal with the problem before it remains to be seen; but the probable issue will be that King Leopold will have his way, and that a Bill will be passed sanctioning revival of the lapsed Convention for another period of ten years, during which there will be at least as flagrant disregard as heretofore of the obligations imposed on the founder and owner of the Congo State by the Berlin Conference in 1885, in respect alike of the equality of trading rights for all European nations, and of the fair and generous treatment of its native inhabitants.

In that case it will behove the European nations to consider whether, on grounds alike of self-interest and of humanitarian duty, another International Conference ought not to be called to insist on performance of the work resolved upon in Berlin sixteen years ago.

## SINGHALESE LITERATURE.

BY R. G. CORBET.

THE Chronicles of Ceylon, held of little account up to the publication of Turnour's "Mahawanso," have ever since been highly esteemed by Orientalists. The work just mentioned, says Sir J. Emerson-Tennent, "stands at the head of the historical literature of the East, unrivalled by anything extant in Hindustan, the wildness of whose chronology it controls, and unsurpassed, if it be equalled, by the native annals of China or Kashmir" ("Ceylon," vol. i., p. 516). Prinsep calls it "the infallible *Tikā*" upon the pillar inscriptions (*Journal R.A.S.*, Bengal, vol. vii., p. 264), and writes to Turnour: "Had your Buddhist Chronicles been accessible to Sir W. Jones and Milford, they would have been greedily seized to correct anomalies at every step" (Tennent's "Ceylon," i., 517, *note*). Turnour himself holds that the "Mahawanso," "from the date of the introduction of Buddhism in Ceylon, in 307 B.C. . . . is authenticated by the concurrence of every evidence which can contribute to verify the annals of any country" (Introduction, p. 1x). Dr. John Murdoch adds his testimony to the effect that the historical literature of the Singhalese "is the most valuable in the East" (letter to the Ceylon Government, June 15, 1869), etc. But the Chronicles possess other qualities besides trustworthiness; "they are the oldest, I believe," says the Bishop of Colombo, "and for centuries the only instances of histories in the Indian world" (*Journal R.A.S.*, Ceylon, vol. xii., p. 162). The language of the people in whose midst they were written, moreover, is perhaps the oldest living Aryan vernacular in the East, and its development can be philologically, as well as historically, traced back, with hardly a break, to the second century before Christ. Nay, "the beginning of literary activity in Ceylon," according to the most recent authority on the subject, "is closely related to the introduction and propagation of

Buddhism in the island" (Wilhelm Geiger, "Litteratur und Sprache der Singhalesen," p. 1), a hundred years earlier. Native tradition credits Mahinda with having, at that time, done the "Atthakathā," afterwards retranslated, into Singhalese; this work, and the Buddhist canon on which it was a commentary, being handed down orally until the last century B.C., when both were at length committed to writing. Professor Geiger takes this to mean that Mahinda found a language current in the island which differed from the scriptural Pali, and made use of it when interpreting the "Tripitaka"; and that a Singhalese "Atthakathā," now lost—of whose historical introduction both the "Mahāvamsa" and "Dīpavamsa" availed themselves—was reduced to writing in course of time. Mr. D. M. de Z. Wickremasinghe, in the interesting review of the literary history of Ceylon with which he prefaces his catalogue of the Singhalese MSS. in the British Museum, throws further light on this important question. The first written work alluded to in the native annals was composed about 80 B.C., but he is of opinion that a written literature existed "at least a century or two before." And, indeed, the "Mahāvamsa" (ch. viii. 3) speaks of a letter sent by King Vijaya (B.C. 543-505) to his brother; of another from King Abhaya (B.C. 474-454) to Prince Pandukābhaya (x. 48); of a "secret letter" (xxii. 15) sent by a grandson of King Uttiya (B.C. 267-257); of an "inscribed golden plate" (xxvii. 6) in the palace of Dutthagāmanī (B.C. 161-137); of a "register of deeds of piety," read publicly at his death (xxxii. 25), etc. (Catalogue, p. x). Moreover, Mahānāma, in his "Tikā," says that the "Mahāvamsa" is written in imitation of the Chronicles composed at the Mahā Vihāra, "setting aside the Singhalese language, in which (the former history) is composed," that he takes over all the historical *data* contained in the "Atthakathā," "rejecting the (Singhalese) dialect only," and that he compiles his work from the Sihala (Singhalese), "Mahāvamsa" and "Atthakathā" of the Mahā Vihāra, and from the

Sihala (Singalese) "Atthakathā," as well as from the "Mahāvamsa" of the Uttara Vihāra monks (*vide* Turnour, "Introduction to the Mahawanso," *passim*). Only the last-mentioned of these works, in Mr. Turnour's opinion, was composed in Pali; for "Mahanamo's quotations from that work alone are in the metrical form, whereas all the translated quotations made by Pali authors from Sihala authorities are invariably, as might be expected, rendered in prose." The presence of all this and other direct and indirect evidence in favour of a previous written literature leads Mr. Wickremasinghe to believe that there is some exaggeration in the statement commonly made that the Buddhist canon was not written down to about B.C. 76. "The real state of affairs was most probably that in those days, as to some extent at the present time, the monks, as a body, knew most of the canon by heart:" an oral transmission which, it is obvious, does not necessarily involve the contemporary non-existence in writing of the sacred texts. As for the commentaries, "the very nature of these extensive compositions precludes the possibility of their having been handed down orally," but they were probably still unarranged, "and manuscripts of them may have been not only rare, but also both imperfect and full of inaccuracies." This would account for the Synod held under the auspices of Valagambāhu I. (B.C. 88-76), where the monks doubtless, as Mr. Wickremasinghe says, "rehearsed the text, and, after having thoroughly revised the commentaries, brought out an edition of both" (Catalogue, p. xi). Unfortunately, the commentaries cannot have been widely distributed, "and seem to have been lost at an early date, judging from the total absence of any reference to their existence in later writings" (*ibid.*). Thus perished "the oldest monument of Singhalese literature," as it is called by Dr. Geiger, of which nothing remains but Buddhaghosa's "translation according to the Māgadhi grammar of the entire Sīhala Atthakathā." Other extinct ancient originals in the vulgar tongue include

the history of the Bodhi tree, turned first into Pali, as the "Mahā-Bodhivamsa," and afterwards back into Singhalese, as the "Elu-Bodhivamsa"; the old Singhalese poem on the celebrated tooth relic, "Daladāvamsa," composed about A.D. 310, and translated into Pali as the "Dāthāvamsa," with a Singhalese version "for the benefit of the ignorant"; the Singhalese translation made by Mahādhammakathī of the "Suttanta Piṭaka" (the miscellaneous discourses of Buddha, one of the three principal divisions of the canon), etc. This last work was written during the reign of King Buddhadāsa (A.D. 341-370), himself the author of a medical treatise in Sanskrit, under whom letters appear to have flourished. The "Dīpavamsa," the oldest of the Ceylon chronicles extant, whose chronology ends with A.D. 302, may possibly have been composed during this period of literary activity. Another, which follows close upon it, is mainly identified with the name of the great commentator Buddhaghosa, who, between A.D. 410 and 432, wrote the encyclopædic compendium of Buddhism "Visuddhimagga," the translations into Pali, already mentioned, of the Atthakathā and other works. Shortly after comes the epoch-making "Mahāvamsa," written, says Mr. Wickremasinghe, in the reign of Dhātusena (A.D. 436-479). The sixth century opens with King Kumāradāsa (A.D. 513-522), to whom the Pāāliyogoda scholar Dharmārāma, with Mr. James d'Alwis, attributes the Sanskrit poem "Jānakī-harana," though not to Mr. Wickremasinghe's satisfaction. Under a later King, Aggabodhi I. (A.D. 564-598), a large number of verses were written "in the Singhalese tongue," by twelve poets whose names are given in the "Mahāvamsa"; and, in the beginning of the ninth century, after a long interval of political unrest, many literary productions appeared, including a code of the principal legal decisions compiled by order of King Dappula II. "Unfortunately," says Dr. Geiger, "nothing remains of the old Singhalese literature, which would be philologically of great value." The late Mr. Louis de Zoysa informs us that the

"Dampiyā - Aṭuvāgātapada," unearthed by him in a monastery (*vide* his catalogue of MSS. in the Temple libraries, p. 6), is perhaps the oldest Singhalese prose work yet discovered. Possibly there are more hidden away in some obscure bookcase waiting for energetic MS. hunters like Mr. de Zoysa or Mr. Wickremasinghe to rescue them from the white ants. Another book in very old Singhalese, according to the former, is the "Heranasika-vinisa," whose exact date, however, the Mudaliyar has been unable to ascertain; the latter is of opinion that it belongs to the close of the eleventh century. With the twelfth Singhalese literature begins its most prosperous period, which attains its climax in the fifteenth. It may be said of this crowning epoch, as it was by Tennent of the whole course of the island's history, that books were produced on "an infinity of subjects . . . Those relating to religion and ecclesiastical history," he explains, "are chiefly written in Pali . . . treatises on astronomy, mathematics and physics are almost exclusively in Sanskrit, whilst those on general literature . . . are composed in Elu . . . which differs from the colloquial Singhalese rather in style than in structure, having been liberally enriched from Sanskrit and Pali" ("Ceylon," vol. i., p. 514). Even if we confine ourselves to classical Singhalese, the number of books written in it from the end of the eleventh century onward is so great that only a few can be mentioned even summarily. We must be content with Gurulugomī's "Amāvatura," or "Ambrosial Water," the story, in pure Elu prose, of the conversions effected by Buddha; the vernacular paraphrase of the "Visuddhimagga" made by Parākrama-bāhu III., the same King's "Daladāsirita," and his poetical masterpiece "Kav-silumina," called by Mr. de Zoysa "one of the best and oldest" Singhalese poems (MSS. in the Temple libraries, p. 30), and by Mr. Wickremasinghe "an admirable poem, from which even the author of the 'Sidat-saṅgarā' has quoted" (MSS. in the British Museum, p. 21); the Singhalese "Thūpa-

vamsa," which is, according to Mr. Wickremasinghe, a standard work in prose (*op. cit.*, p. 139); the Elu history of the Bo-tree; the "Pūjāvaliya" and the medical treatise "Yogārnava," two valuable Singhalese prose compositions by Mayūrapāda; the "Sidatsaṅgarāva," the great Elu grammar; the "550 Jātakas" or birth-stories of Buddha, in Singhalese; the standard poems, "Sasadāvata" and "Muvadevdāvata," which, like the "Kav-silumina," take their subject from the *Jātakas* and the *Sandesas* (or messages), beginning with the "Mayūra-sandesaya." These bring us down to the celebrated Totagamuva, whose "Kāvyaasekhara," says Mr. James d'Alwis, "has been scarcely surpassed by any other [work] in respect of originality, depth of thought, elegance, and correctness of expression" ("A Descriptive Catalogue," etc., vol. i., p. 199); and one of whose disciples, Vāttāva, wrote the "Guttila-Kāvya," reckoned, Professor Geiger informs us, among the Elu classics ("Litteratur," etc., p. 12). To Totagamuva and his school belong, *inter alia*, the messages of Sālalihini, of the pigeon, the cuckoo, the parrot, and the swan. The monk Vidāgama, another poet of great attainments, lived about the same time. Meanwhile, prose was not neglected: contemporary books, besides the usual treatises on Buddhism and subjects connected with it, comprising Moggallāna's commentary upon his grammar, "one of the most learned and pregnant works on the Pāli tongue" (*op. cit.*, p. 13), three Elu dictionaries, "Piyum-mala," "Ruvanmala," and "Purāna-nāmāvaliya," etc. Anarchy prevailed during the sixteenth century, one King in particular, who had embraced Brahmanism, destroying all the Buddhist manuscripts he could, a circumstance which doubtless accounts in great measure for the loss of so many precious works. The seventeenth—during which and the eighteenth Singhalese literature flourished once more, declining again from the latter to the present day—begins with the poems of Mohottāla, chief among which is the "Kusajātaka." No one, according to Mr. d'Alwis, has

studied brevity more than this poet, few have surpassed him in correctness of versification, and he is also remarkable for a great command of elegant language. The "Mahahatana" and "Parangihatana," the Erlangen Professor tells us, have been wrongly ascribed to this author ("Litteratur," etc., p. 15), a conclusive proof, by the way, of his influence, of which the "Kostantīnuhatana," too, bears evident traces. He shares with Totagamuva and his disciple Vättäāva, moreover, the position of model for the poetical versions of the *Jātakas*, which, with imitations of the *Sandesas*, form a great part of recent Singhalese verse. In other directions the literary revival owed much to Vālivita Saranankara, among whose works may be mentioned the "Sārārthasangraha," a Singhalese work on Buddhism, and the "Madhurārtha-prakāsanī," a Singhalese interverbal translation of the "Bodhivamsa" as rendered into Pali; his pupils, indeed, wrote many of the prose treatises on different subjects which appeared during the eighteenth century.

Enough has perhaps been said to disprove Tennent's assertion, made at a time when little was known on the subject, "that the Singhalese can scarcely be said to have a literature in their natural dialect, and in the books which they do possess, so utter is the dearth of invention or originality, that almost all which are not either ballads or compilations, are translations from one or other of the two learned languages" ("Ceylon," vol. i., p. 514). "The authors of later times," he adds further on, "have been content to limit their efforts to works of fiction and amusement, and to ballads and doggerel descriptions of places and passing events" (*op. cit.*, p. 520). This much is certain, that, as Professor Geiger remarks, their works are comparatively of little historical or philological interest ("Litteratur," etc., p. 16); a description of them may therefore be omitted. Of the cave and rock inscriptions it would be premature to treat in detail until the "Epigraphia Zeylanica"—confided by the Ceylon Government, in the



words of Dr. Geiger, to the "proved force" of Mr. Wickremasinghe—is completed. Suffice it to say that the oldest hitherto examined is attributed to the third century before Christ, and that they extend thence, with a break between the fifth and ninth of our era, to A.D. 1806. Additional light may possibly be thrown upon them by the collection, for which Professor Geiger pleads in his highly-interesting pamphlet, "*Mäldivische Studien. I.*," of the ancient inscriptions in the Maldives. The *Sannasas* or royal grants, usually recorded upon copper plates, may also be mentioned; these go back at least to the fourteenth century and come down to 1813. Several of them are preserved in the British Museum, and a description of them is given on pp. 88 and 89 of Mr. Wickremasinghe's catalogue; another is transliterated, with a translation and notes, on p. 25 of Dr. Geiger's "*Litteratur und Sprache der Singhalesen.*" Both these works, it may be remarked in conclusion, contain many interesting details which cannot be given here. The former is full of information concerning the authorship and contents of a number of the principal works in the language, to which reference is made easy by several indexes. The latter, after a historical sketch of Ceylon literature, enters upon a grammatical examination of Singhalese. This the author concludes to be a pure Aryan dialect with a Prakrit foundation, which has incorporated foreign words much as English has its non-Germanic elements. Among other philological deductions may be noted his tendency to believe that the Veddahs, on whose dialect he hopes to throw further light, are degenerate Singhalese, and that the aborigines have been destroyed or absorbed by the conquerors from the mainland.

NOTE.—*ä* and *ää* give a better idea of the Singhalese sounds than *e* and *z*. In other respects names of books and authors have been transliterated according to Mr. Wickremasinghe's table. Words which have long since become part of the English language, such as *Singhalese*, *Sanskrit*, *Pali*, and *Ehu*, are given in English. It would be affectation to write *Simhalese*, as strict transliteration demands.

## THE FALSE PHILONIAN LOGOS.

BY PROFESSOR LAWRENCE MILLS.

THE logos of Philo was, of course, a descendant of that of the Stoics so far as its name was concerned, and also in many other important characteristics.

For not only did it partake of the high morality of that system, but Philo himself often falls into a strain which sounds very like that to which the noble Stoic once gave voice. While, of course, in its real and interior significance the philonian logos was not the contradictory opposite to the stoic, it was none the less essentially opposite to it on its one elemental theme. The logos in the doctrine of the stoics was "immanent," as it was called—that is to say, it "inhered" in God and nature as an integral essential element, predominant and eternal.

It was—and it is not at all a strange thing to say—the development of the marvellous scheme of Heraclitus, whose *fire logos* was the regulating power in the forces of universal nature, the harmonised and harmonising law in all its adapted and unchangeable procedure. Philo's logos, instead of being this "immanent" thing, was, on the contrary, emanant,\* as it was inadequately called. It emanated—"flowed out"—from God, so that it did not seem to remain an integral part of Him, so to speak, in the stoic sense, though in another light it yet remained His attribute.

It was neither "create" nor "uncreate," by which curious language no mere cloak for nonsense was intended. It was obviously used to show that the logos, like the Supreme Being, has no reference to "existence" as apart from "being" in the common philosophical meaning of the terms. That is to say, Philo meant in using the expressions to say that his logos, like its God, was utterly remote from the reach of reason, when reason is understood to

\* Or emanative.

be "understanding" and "calculation" dealing with the categories of time, space, and causality. Everything which was existent "stood out" in definite distinction from all surrounding objects, because it was defined, and so limited by them. Philo's logos, like his supreme "Being" was not like that.

In this particular, which is not "curious" only because it is so familiar, it differed, as we may say at once, essentially from both the *vohu manah* and the *asha* of the *Zend Avesta*. This "emanation" was intended to meet the supposed difficulty which had been elaborated by Plato, which was the alleged antagonistic dualism between God and matter. Philo, following his more distinguished predecessor, found matter to be inherently evil.

This, I need hardly say, had nothing whatever to do with the theistic dualism of the *Zend Avesta*, though, of course, the ultimate origin of the two ideas was similar—a strife in the universe. But the dualism of Plato was intended to deal with a certain thing as evil which the *Avesta* in no place declares to be evil, but, on the contrary, by inference, it declares it (or a great part of it) to be good.\*

Philo and his school held that the supreme Being could in no wise be regarded as having acted directly upon matter which was in itself repugnant to Him, though it (matter) was held to be "eternal."† This was inferable from Plato, but Philo, following Plato, carried his notion of the evil in his expression of the "evil" nature of matter much further in some respects, and held that matter, being thus inherently evil, its creation, and the creation of anything whatsoever out of it (matter), was a thing which could not possibly be the direct work of the Being one, God. Plato also indicates the existence of the "gap"

\* It was the grossest of heresies to declare certain objects of nature to be evil, and, indeed, all objects save those created by the evil spirit.

† Almost everything was "eternal" in this connection. They made little account of time.

between the two. But where Plato left no remedy, Philo made his logos emanant (*sic*), and so a bridge between God and evil substance. What possible analogy, let us again pause for a moment to ask, does this find in the Zend Avesta, either in the Gāthas or in any other part of it? Where is there any such a thing so much as hinted at as a chasm between the creation and Ahura?

So far as immanence without emanation is concerned, it might be said that the Amesha Spenta were parts of God as being His attributes.

Of course, they were at times represented as such, as I have elsewhere shown. Wherever Ahura is said to think, say, or do anything "with ashā" as a noun in the adverbial instrumental case, "with the good mind, vohu manah," with "his sovereign power," khshatra, with "aramaiti," and the rest, there, of course, these great qualities are his attributes, *but they do not emanate from him in any philonian sense at all*, so as to separate him in any way from any objects which they, the Amesha, as personified, may produce. The emanation of the Logos as the collective of the dunameis of God is an idea which has sole reference to a quasi separation of the Logos as the summing-up of the powers from God for the specific purpose which I have named.

Philo, following the great Greek phantast, who was his real master, did not mind at all a God from whom something might flow out and operate upon defiled matter. This would not derogate from the dignity of such a deity in this curious scheme, for the very reason that logic was here purposely arrested. The supreme Being was expressly kept apart as "non-existent" from the reach of all our laws of inference. Forces might "flow out" from God and operate indefinitely upon all that was revolting, but he (or "it") could not execute any possible immediate influence upon the detested thing.

Emanation was the only thing which they could think of to describe what they regarded as the needed separation

between God and matter. It was, of course, a pseudo-idea, an inadequate and quasi separation consisting of words, but it was the only one which they could formulate, as God could not be absolutely separated from His own Logos, and something that *looked like* separation must, they thought, be hit upon, or else the Logos, when it, or he "proceeded" to the manipulation (?) of matter, and so became defiled, would in his turn defile the unsequestered Divinity. It was a poor makeshift, as the Stoics would have said, a worthless "non-conductor," to borrow a simile.

But where is the separation, even such as this, or the emanation in all the Avesta, between the Amesha Spenta and Ahura? They abide in God, of course, as His attributes when used in certain connections in the older book, and where they are archangels they are distinctly "created" by Him. Where is the Logos ever created in Philo or Plato? These are notorious items. The procession of the Amesha Spenta from the Deity, where they do proceed, is expressed by the figure of "generation"; Asha and Vohu Manah, like the rest, are *His children*,\* the process, if such it may by inference be termed, being radically dissimilar from the "emanation" of the *dunámeis* as included within the Logos.

And here we may pause to remark upon the dissimilarity between the *tone of statement* in the Gāthas and that in Philo, as well as upon their more radical difference. Gāthic thought had simply no experience of the method of discussion in which Philo engaged; and this shows either its priority to Philo, or a complete segregation out of the reach of philonian influences. It had simply no conception of the existence of such a subject of controversy as that with which the works of Philo and his Platonic predecessors ring. The whole question was only not new to Zarathushtra, because he had not at all arrived at that stage of thought. His was a vigorous, but, so far as these points were concerned, a wholly fresh and unfurnished

\* See the beautiful passage in the Yasht.

mind. And this alone would prove the feeble character of the suggestion that the Gāthas were "full of the spirit of Philo." They are absolutely undisturbed by the strenuous and fantastic ideas of the Alexandrian, nor had their author ever dreamed that those ideas as such had ever been entertained.

For where is there a hint in all the Avesta to the effect that matter was to be considered in itself an evil? It would be like answering a child to mention here the zoroastrian devil and his evil creation. Parts of the creation of which Angra Mainyu was the author were unclean, of course, giving us perhaps the origin of the "uncleanness" of certain animals and objects in the Book of Leviticus; but they were unclean for the best of reasons, which was because the Devil made them and uses them; and in the Gāthas these are mental evils only.\* To question whether the original substance out of which either they or the "clean" creatures were made was good or evil never entered the thoughts of a single one of the many authors of the Avesta, old or late. The contrary, in fact, is strictly the truth. Anything which caused the increase of even material force, unless that force was distinctly recognised as within the province of the evil one, partook of the character of holiness, and notoriously so in the later zoroastrianism.

There is, indeed, nothing to substantiate or to militate against the opinion that the early zoroastrians did not deny, or that they held to, the eternity of matter. They had no opinions whatsoever upon the subject. God created the world "in endless time"† indeed, and this might better be rendered in "limitless time," really meaning in a never beginning eternity, which would be merely a mist of words to conceal the definition. In fact, zoroastrianism was, so far as "matter" was concerned, a simple quasi-monistic system, like our own. It was, of course, nothing at all of a pantheism; and a "pan-dualism" would be merely a turn of speech; nor was it, on the other hand, the

\* Or chiefly.

† So in one isolated place.

“panlogism” of the Stoics. But so far as “matter” at least was concerned there was no hiatus whatsoever between its God and that. Except in so far as His domain was limited by the evil creation, God could have looked upon everything that He had made, and pronounced it to be “very good”; and, for all we know, the good God and the evil god even used the same material substance for their respective creations. Where is there any room at all here for the Logos in the philonian sense?

The great good spirit of the “two original ones,” created not only Vohu manah, and Asha, and the rest, but stars, suns, plants, and waters, all portions of the non-being matter, the “wood” of the “carpenter”; and Vohu manah in that very first strophe most in point even represented\* the human being. To the mind of Philo in his affected mood the statement at that place would have been distasteful in the extreme; to Plato, his real master, it would have been horrible—that is to say, if he were at heart at all serious in his pet theories. The supreme Being meddling directly with matter would have been an idea really subversive of his system. And where in Plato, or anywhere in the entire Greek philosophy,† will you find a logos or a “nous,” in the sense indicated, declared to be the “creature” of the Deity or of any other power? They were so sensitive upon the subject that they even invented the subtle sentence to which I have above alluded.

The prejudice became so deep-rooted and showed such vitality upon the subject of monism or a dualism between God and matter, that embittered controversies arose upon them, just as they arose later upon the various subjects of fervent difference among the Christian fathers. Philosophical acumen was not only in Greece an appreciated value, it was such also in Greek Egypt. The transcendent

\* See Y. 44.

† Sporadically one may find anything, but where is such a thing found in analogy and in connection?

God, above and apart from Nature—this latter being considered polluted—with His mediating Logos bridging the chasm, were points of the most radical importance to the Jewish disciples of the platonicians advancing upon their teachers of some centuries back, and held the same position which practical beliefs in Christianity, orthodox or otherwise, have to us.\*

Not only was the question of the evil nature of material substance a burning one, but it brought in its train serious practical consequences, for ascetic action—or, rather, non-action—followed upon it, and theological schools as well as societies were originated and sustained in view of it. The view that matter was the negative source of evil was so realistic that men entertained the idea of resisting it, if not of getting rid of it, by extreme measures. It was regarded as so "terrible," that if it had been an *active* and not, as it was, a passive force (*sic*), the debate might again turn for a moment upon the question whether it did not constitute a very effective theoretical Satan; and whether Angra Mainyu, the great demon of the Avesta, did not afford a proof of philonian-platonic influence upon Zarathushtra, or, more properly, of zarathushtrian influence upon the philonian creed; and, in fact, if it were not for the positive certainty that matter was in itself not "defiled" in the Avesta, this subject not having been considered, we should say, indeed, that we could not ask for a "better," or, to speak more strictly, for a worse, philosophical devil. But the platonic matter was for the most part merely "dead," having no inherent force nor creative motion, being only "a passive cause" animated, where it was animated at all, only by "mind" or "soul," which was precisely called "logos" and "pneuma," as breathing the life of reason throughout this

\* Let us remember that we have an Apostle's testimony with regard to the fervour of the Greeks, which upholds in passing the scientific nature of their procedure. "They spent their time," he says, "in nothing else save to tell and to hear some new thing"—that is to say, caring only for the "advance" of science.



lifeless mass. It met God as being an "obstacle" to Him rather than as His "opponent."

But even so the doctrine was a blasphemy against nature, and there are, indeed, reasons why we should endeavour to revive our own animosity against it; for, of course, the idea survives in a certain strength and form, and exercises a most practical influence in many a religious school, sometimes also in isolated cases of religious experience. Who does not remember moments when he has personally maligned all temporal things?

We do not, indeed, wish to detract from the self-denial of those who fight against all the baser instincts of nature in the interests of a higher purpose, but this may be founded upon principles which, if carried out, would mar, if not undo, half of what is best in life, if, indeed, it would not forestall and prevent its further continuance.

If Nature is evil, then all which seeks to redeem it is false effort. And yet there are few of us, I fear, who have not at times favoured the suppression of all beauty, natural, physical, and even intellectual, thinking that a hard and "dogmatic" salvation from a mechanical retribution was the one needful thing. The expression of beauty in doctrines, treatises, music, architecture, painting, may have aroused our strong suspicions. We may have felt it to be treason to the one cause of an effort to "save" ourselves and others.

But the holiest hopes of man are bound up with certain forces, of which the material elements are at least the vehicle, and we may be devoutly thankful that the common-sense of mankind, so fortunately for us all, has never been totally dominated by such a tendency as that to which I have alluded. If matter with its occult forces is evil, then, indeed, most that redeems us is of that character; some of the most godlike things about us would be condemned as demoniacal. For there are some of us who have helped on the generations inspired by the mere presence of lights and shades on plants and landscapes,

not to speak of the silent melodies of human character in its rarely better side ; while the genius of man has worked together such blendings of noble sounds rhythmically audible that their force can not only move the soul itself to its tenderest depths, but also arouse it to deeds of heroic devotion. Poetry in its mere spoken form should be a reflex of Nature, and reason is a refined appetite dealing with its detail, partaking of the æsthetic, though by no means one with it ; while that supreme instinct, which seems, indeed, to elevate us to the very ideal of self-sacrifice, actually pervades the living world, and is felt even in the middle, if not in the lower, animals as a passion which is absolutely irresistible. I refer, of course, to the mother-love and the father-love.

And who can deny that these things may arise from some divine internal force within the substance of the world, of which they are but the changing forms, seeing that without the material senses they would be utterly without effect, if not in themselves impossible ?

“ Matter ” is not only the external substance with which all that is noble can deal, it may be that what is noblest consists ultimately in the equipoise of its elements, that an instinct towards this inheres in all things, becoming inevitably manifest in the human, subhuman, or superhuman subject in the course of its development.

Even the Vohu manah, who has been brought forward in mistake for Asha, shows us this very thing. He is love as the word is applied to a higher principle, but love as expressed in the nursings of Nature for the peace of fed hunger and the quenching of consuming fires, in joyous work for the hale, in sleep for the broken-hearted. And where would the play for these things be without material life ? Half of what we call “ spiritual ” arises from it. The substance of which the universe consists is no unholy thing, and “ matter ” is a misleading name for it. Whatever has within itself such potentialities is of itself sacred. To term it “ evil ” is to blaspheme not Nature alone, but God ;

to set the pyramid upon its apex, with æsthetic ruin as the result. Yet such was theoretically the course of Philo and his platonian predecessors, as every tyro knows, and the step from "the sublime" was taken when as usual he (Philo) attributed the remote authorship of his doctrine not finally to his great Greek master, but to the Hebrew sage of the Exodus.\* Then it became as "ridiculous" as it was mischievous, sapping the deepest buried roots of the tree of life. Yet his doctrine of "dead, inert" matter—only not a demon, because "it could not move"—had its share in furious disputes in the studies of Alexandria as in the very porticos of its great synagogue. There the sublime substratum of existence was termed a thing absolutely outside of God, and by no means made by Him, partaking of "destruction," anomalous.† It is nothing to our purpose that in a spasm of orthodoxy Philo seems to take back at times all that he had said.‡ Passages contradicting the great maintides of a man's intellectual activity, let it be once more emphasised, can be found in all men's works.

The overwhelming preponderance of his platonism not only annihilates those isolated contradictions, but he actually enlarges upon it (see above). For he postulates a logos which is a mere summing up of the divine "powers," the "dunámeis," which he held to be separate from God, because, as he said, the supreme Spiritual Being could not defile Himself by contact with what he understood to be not ideal only. All the administration of the polity of the universe which in any way seemed harsh was for this reason put off by Him, the Supreme Deity, upon those "powers" which, with the Logos as their chief, were all the while His own. I will not revert here further to the thought that the whole scheme, indeed, eliminates God out of existence§ though

\* He traced everything to Moses.

† See Siegfried, "Philo als ausleger der A. T.," p. 231. Heinze, "Lehre vom Logos," p. 210.

‡ "De somn.," i. 15 (i. 632). This is indeed very outspoken, and seems to retract all that he had said.

§ The familiar distinction between "being" and "existing" is here applied. As the "being one" He was absolutely undefined. Had He

not out of "being," leaving only His powers as actual. I will simply assert once more that this is totally heterogeneous from the doctrine of the Amesha Spenta. They are, indeed, "Powers of Ahura" in the old Avesta, the Gāthas as in Philo; but they were "Powers" (so) there in quite another sense. To call the physical substance of the universe an evil thing was not only foreign to the spirit of the Gāthas, but hostile to their letter, which said of a remorseless enemy:

"He will destroy my words | who for sight as the worst announces  
The Kine for the eyes, and the Sun, | and the gifts of the wicked  
offers."\*

This is, however, merely accidental, as a literal rejection for such an idea as the "unholiness of matter" never entered their conceptions. The very active adjective which many translate as "holy" is rendered as the "increasing," "augmenting," by the pahlavi translators in accordance with its vedic equivalent. Anything which "increases prosperity" was good by the very fact.

Had zoroastrianism been in any degree influenced by Platonism through Philo, its character as zoroastrianism would have been just in *that degree impaired*. I by no means say that all platonists or even philonians went to the lengths of their systems in the direction indicated; manifestly they did not. But I do mean to say that the Gāthic zoroastrianism, even as interpreted through the later Avesta, is heterogeneous from it as well as utterly ignorant of it, and its historical connection with it is to be repudiated for a reason which is perhaps of all others the most cogent. It is this: both *asha*, *vohu manah*, together with the rest of the great abstracts, were familiar to the Veda in their interior meaning and in its ancient parts centuries before Philo spoke or wrote at Alexandria,† or even before Plato, his real master, spun out his well-meant theories in the cloisters of the Academy.

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"existed" He would have been limited, and within the scope of the laws of time and space. See above. \* See Gāthas, pp. 99, 479.

† See my more detailed delineations elsewhere.

## A HISTORY OF THE FRENCH MISSIONS TO SIAM.\*

BY PINYA.

THE rise and fall of the influence of the French priests during the first twenty-five years of their mission in Siam has been described—the extent of the power which they acquired, and the completeness of the overthrow which they experienced. The subsequent resuscitation of the mission has now to be followed as it struggles bravely on through difficulties without number, constantly defeated, and all but annihilated, yet always recovering and returning to the fight with unabated zeal, until, as the country settles down under a firmly-rooted dynasty and the fighting instinct dies out among the people, it gradually acquires that permanent position, fraught with mixed good and evil to the Siamese, which it holds at the present day.

From 1690 to 1760 Siam was in continual trouble, revolutions and civil wars succeeding each other at short intervals, until the once powerful kingdom was so reduced as to become a helpless prey to hordes of Burmese freebooters, who annually overran and pillaged the border provinces, where in former days their incursions had been easily repulsed. During all this time the French priests, supported by and recruited from the Seminary of the Propaganda in Paris, continued labouring with varying success in the field of their mission. The seminary at Ayuthia was reopened, and by degrees the scattered Christians were drawn together, and their number increased by converts from among the poorest classes. No longer permitted to take part in the politics of the country, the priests found employment in ministering to the inmates of the prisons, and in succouring waifs and orphans, which they did with so much assiduity that in time the congrega-

\* Continued from pp. 331-343 of our last issue (April, 1901).

tion began to resume something of its former appearance. As the years went by more churches were built in and around Ayuthia, and with quiet and unostentatious zeal the work went on until at length the mission had established itself more firmly, because on a sounder basis, than ever before.

Of the struggles of this long period there is practically no record existing. There being no splendid embassies or attempted conversions of kings to immortalize, the mission now failed to attract the attention of imaginative historians of the Father Tachard school, for whom the chronicling of long years of patient toil and submissive self-denial was altogether too insignificant. They, moreover, now shunned a country where no celebrity was to be earned, and where their artistic feelings might at any moment be shocked by the brutal violence of persecution. Hence, from the close of the seventeenth century little is known of the doings of the missionaries in Siam until, in the year 1760, the Bishop of Tabraca, successor of a long line of prelates in the see of Ayuthia, is found calling on his flock, at the request of the King's chief minister, to furnish volunteers for the war against the Burmese. Turpin, in his "*Histoire de Siam*," tells how a Christian corps put the rest of the Siamese army to shame by their bravery, manned the walls of the Royal Palace, where they stood at bay against the whole force of the Burmese invader, and, when all seemed lost and the country doomed, saved it for a time by their indomitable valour.

From other accounts of the struggle between the Burmese and the Siamese, it appears, however, that the standard of courage was not remarkably high on either side. The whole series of campaigns seems to have consisted of alternate rapid flight and gingerly advance, varied by occasional massacres of defenceless villagers, and resulting in the eventual demoralization of the weaker force, the Siamese. When, at length, the Burmese army appeared before Ayuthia, the peasantry from the surrounding country

took refuge in the city, but most of the fighting men deserted the walls and retired to the remote districts, where they engaged in the congenial occupation of looting the country people, as being much more pleasant and remunerative than defending a famine-stricken city against an enemy flushed with recent victory. The empty suburbs were plundered and destroyed by the Burmese, with the exception of the locality known as "the Christian quarter," which was saved by the unwilling presence of two terrified individuals, who, being too late to run away, in despair discharged their firearms at the approaching enemy, who, utterly taken aback at this unexpected resistance, deserted the quarter and could not be induced to enter it again. The walls of the palace were held by the Christians with a few other faithful troops, until the death of the Burmese King caused the retirement of his army, whereupon the Siamese soldiery reappeared and retook possession of the country in the rear of the retreating enemy.

The close of this war found the Christians once more a power in the land. They had acquired great reputation as warriors, many were ennobled and given high military command, while the Bishop was once more admitted to the councils of the State. So great, indeed, was the reputation of the Christians that it was confidently anticipated that in case of another war they would infallibly conduct the armies of Siam to victory. But now, being once more on the crest of the wave, the fatal bigotry and foolish intrigue of the days of King Phra Narai were obstinately revived to wreck the fortunes of the Church. At the military councils called to consider measures for strengthening the country against future invasions, the new Christian nobles, "ever mindful," as old Turpin naïvely states, "of the good of the Church," insisted that one of the first undertakings should be the destruction of all pagodas and Buddhist temples, "as these served only as strongholds for the enemy." Hereupon a violent storm arose about the ears of the Christian community, the Siamese, with something of

Gallic hysteria, becoming convinced that they were betrayed. This feeling, being carefully fostered and encouraged by the whole Buddhist priesthood, turned the entire country against the missionaries, and brought the Roman Church once more into complete disfavour. Fears of a return to the old days of persecution caused the apostasy of hundreds of converts, the clergy were imprisoned, many Christian nobles were degraded, and a royal decree was issued to the effect that the Bishop should no longer be regarded as a high dignitary, or be addressed by the titles of respect which he had formerly enjoyed.

The Bishop, shorn of his state, now found that all the work of the mission had to be done over again, and, with noble perseverance, he set himself to the task of reconstruction. The recent trials and tribulations had completely scattered the flock, some of the clergy had died in gaol, others had fled, and the Seminary of the Propaganda in Paris had now lost all interest in Siam, and was sending its recruits to other and more prosperous missions. Nevertheless the good Bishop, by hard and unremitting labour, found himself after a time once more at the head of a congregation, though the constant vicissitudes of the Christians had by this time rendered the work of conversion more than ever difficult.

But now the last chapter of the history of Ayuthia was beginning, and the venerable leader of the Christians was about once more to find in the camp and in the council-chamber other occupation than that of convert-making. A vast army of Burmese under the leadership of Sin Byu Shin, the famous son of King Alaung Phra, overran the province of Tenasserim, took the town of Mergui, where the members of a branch mission from Ayuthia were captured and narrowly escaped being murdered, and thereafter advanced upon the Siamese capital. The Bishop, foreseeing an unfortunate termination to this invasion, placed the more timid members of his flock under the care of his only two remaining white priests, and despatched



them for safety to the province of Chantaburi in the south-eastern corner of the country, he himself, with a number of devoted male and female followers, remaining to share the perils of the capital, and to offer his counsel to the King. At this critical time he became almost the chief supporter of the Sovereign, at whose hands he and his followers had recently suffered so much, and, during all the long and tedious war which occupied the next five or six years, he remained his faithful adherent and intrepid adviser.

Ultimately, however, it became clear that the Siamese were now no longer a match for their hardier enemy. Gradually the war rolled nearer to the capital, until at last, after weary years during which all his resources had been exhausted, the Siamese King found himself hemmed in in his royal city and completely surrounded by his enemies. A siege then ensued which, in spite of the enfeebled condition of the Siamese, continued for several years, the country round Ayuthia being in the meantime completely subjugated, and the people treated with excessive cruelty. In vain did the Bishop sue for peace in the camp of the Burmese monarch, in vain did the Christian and other guards defend the city, in vain were the women ordered to cut off their long hair, and, dressed as men, to mount the walls in the desperate hope that their number might yet strike terror into the hearts of the foe; in the end the town was taken by assault, was absolutely destroyed, and the whole population either massacred or carried away into captivity. Amid the general ruin of pagodas and palaces, the Christian churches vanished utterly away, and the Bishop with his whole following shared the fate of the populace, and was sent a prisoner to Ava. At the last moment before surrender, when hope was quite dead, the nuns and other virgins of the flock, prepared to make any sacrifice rather than endure the horrors of uncertainty, took to themselves husbands from among the Christian soldiers, and thus saved themselves from the probably worse fate of falling unprotected into the hands of the Burmese, who,

though cruel and barbarous by nature, were known to be rigid respecters of the marriage tie.

Many were the trials and severe the sufferings undergone by the Bishop and his people, now at the mercy of the victorious Burmese, but at length they found a protector in the person of a certain Portuguese soldier of fortune in the service of the King of Ava, called by historians Captain John. This officer, being a Roman Catholic, undertook the protection of his co-religionists, and after much bargaining succeeded in getting the whole lot assigned to him as a share of the booty resulting from the war. They were marched across country to Mengui, from which port ships conveyed them to Burma, away for ever from the land they loved, where the bones of their bishops lay amid the ruins of their own cathedral. Captain John afterwards rose to eminence in the service of Ava, and with his Christian wife, a granddaughter of the great Phaulkon, became known as a staunch upholder of Christianity.

In the district of Shwébo in Upper Burma, not far from the ancient city of Ava, there exists at the present moment a colony of Christians, a very mixed community, betraying in feature and colouring an ancestry of many nationalities. This strange colony was founded when, in 1614, the Portuguese traders established at Syriam on the Burma coast under the well-known Philippe de Britto were taken prisoners by the King of Ava, carried off to the capital, afterwards released and given lands, and allowed to form a settlement, retaining their own religion. To this colony were afterwards sent batches of Christian prisoners taken in war from time to time, and here the Christian soldiery of Ayuthia with their hastily acquired spouses ultimately took up their abode. Their Bishop remained among them for a time until, worn out with the anxieties and troubles of the past few years, and entirely shattered in health, he withdrew, with the permission of the King, to France, where he soon died.

Thus, after the lapse of upwards of a hundred years

since the beginning of its work, the French Mission in Siam was, a second time, practically obliterated, its sole remnants being a miserable band of captives in a foreign land and the timid refugees from Ayuthia, before alluded to, who remained hidden away in a corner of the Chantaburi province, their very existence being unknown to any but the wild inhabitants of the jungle villages in which they had settled.

The fall of Ayuthia was the signal for the break-up of the old kingdom of Siam. The Burmese army, glutted with the plunder of the capital, soon began, after the manner of Indo-Chinese armies, to melt rapidly away, so that before long it was as much as the Burmese Viceroy of the conquered country could do to uphold the authority of his master in the provinces immediately surrounding his headquarters. Thus the disorganized Siamese soldiers, who had fled to the more distant parts, were left entirely to their own devices, which consisted mainly in robbery, murder and internecine strife, until ultimately one or other of the bandit chiefs overpowered the rest, and imposed something like order in the tracts through which his power extended. Of these robber chiefs, not the least remarkable was one Phya Tak, a half-bred Chinaman, whose title was derived from the small township of Tak, in Upper Siam, of which, in former days, he had been headman. This person, on the fall of Ayuthia, fled to Chantaburi, where for many years he existed by the same means as his half-starved companions, namely, by plundering such villages as were too weak to offer any resistance. His superior cunning soon placed him at the head of his gang, and having by various treacherous means murdered his rivals and the chief magnates of the neighbourhood, he found himself, while still in the prime of life, in the command of 2,000 men, and a fleet of small ships, and undisputed ruler of the Chantaburi province. Full of ambition, he marched to the banks of the Ménam, founded the city of Bangkok, on the spot where the old fortress of

that name had stood, attacked and drove away the impoverished Burmese Viceroy of Ayuthia, and by dint of bribery, treachery and a little fighting, induced the self-constituted chiefs of the other provinces to join him and ultimately to recognise his authority. Finally, he made himself King of Siam, which elevated position he occupied until, in his turn, he was treacherously murdered by his protégé and intimate friend, who seized the throne and became the first King of the present august dynasty.

At no period of its existence in Siam were the fortunes of the French Roman Catholic Mission at so low an ebb as during the reign of Phya Tak and afterwards down to the second decade of the nineteenth century. When the capital of the country had been established at Bangkok, the few remaining Christians crept out of hiding and made it their headquarters, and here in complete obscurity this vestige of the once powerful organization continued to exist, now and then making a few converts from among the miserable war captives sent in from time to time from distant rebellious provinces to recruit the lowest grades of slavery.

Reduced and enfeebled as it was, however, the mission was not long left in peace. Enemies of the Christian religion still existed, and these lost no opportunity of bringing trouble on the heads of the priests, whose blind zeal, moreover, frequently led them to interfere in matters from which they should have held aloof. Thus it came about that, even at this troublous time, when the pacification and reconstruction of the kingdom demanded all the attention of the King, he was frequently harassed by the squabbings and contentions of the Roman Catholics. The result was, as may be guessed, that, finding them now entirely without support from outside, and consequently at his mercy, he soon lost all patience with them. Attempts were made to stamp out the Christian religion, persecutions were authorized, the priests spent more of their time in than out of the gaols, and ultimately in the year 1780

they were banished from the country altogether. In 1782, however, after the accession of King Phra Budhyort, the first of the present dynasty, the mission was re-established by royal permission, given in view of the educational advantages which, it was represented, would be derived from the presence of the priests. All idea of Siam being made the centre of great missionary enterprise in the East had by this time long been dissipated, and that country, together with the Malay Peninsula, was now constituted the See, beyond which the jurisdiction of the Bishop no longer extended. The restored mission managed to maintain itself, but did not prosper, and in 1823, when Crawford, a British Envoy to Siam, paid a visit to the Bishop at Bangkok, he was told that there were then not more than 3,000 Christians in the whole country. "And these," says Crawford, with something of sarcasm, "are the whole fruits of 160 years' labour." The Bishop, a charming old Frenchman, who had been thirty-four years a missionary in different parts of the East, was given to much dreaming of the days when his country had played such a prominent part in the affairs of Siam, and related with sorrow how, to the Siam of this time, the French were politically absolutely unknown, and how the close connection which at one time existed between the two countries was now remembered only as a tale of a bygone age. Truly, when he reflected on the misery and loss of life caused by his countrymen, and on the intrigue and strife in which they had so freely engaged and involved others in the hope of achieving their great ambitions, how miserable must have appeared to him the result as represented by the 3,000 ignorant peasants of mixed Chinese, Cambodian, anything but Siamese origin, which now constituted his entire following!

Indeed the mission, which never at any subsequent time had fully recovered the position of temporal power which it occupied in the palmy days of King Phra Narai, and from which it had been ousted upon the fall of that Monarch, had by now ceased altogether to exist as a

political factor, and appeared, moreover, to be on the verge of spiritual extinction also. All the noble acts of sacrifice and devotion performed by the priests, and all the educational advantages offered by the mission, had always been rendered of no avail by outbreaks, at intervals, of stupid bigotry until it seemed that total extinction was now almost inevitable. On looking back over their history, the cause of failure was so clearly evident that the priests themselves could not fail to perceive it. The great missionary La Loubère was among the first to point out the root of the evil, and he for years both preached and wrote to the effect that no mission could possibly expect to succeed without the exercise of a certain amount of tact, care and gentleness in attacking the fondly-cherished beliefs and prejudices of the people whose conversion was aimed at. In fact, the method of the old missionary who took up his saintly sword and buckler and, strong in his own narrow belief, boldly hacked and slashed at the softest but misguided feelings of the idolater, was found, though often an excellent means of saving the soul of the priest himself and of hurrying the same to Paradise by the way of martyrdom, to be, as a means of conversion, an absolute failure, and the only chance of saving and possibly restoring the mission in Siam lay in the appointment to supreme control of one in whom common-sense, tact and sympathy with mankind should be sufficiently strong to counteract, and in a measure override, the narrow-mindedness and bigotry usually engendered by the priestly training.

Fortunately for the mission, such a man appeared at this critical moment in the person of Father Pallegoix, Bishop of Mallos, who was nominated Vicar-Apostolic of Siam in the year 1830; a man who, in addition to the many excellent qualities which had distinguished so many of his fore-runners, was filled with the milk of human kindness, and, moreover, possessed of an intelligence of an extremely high order, and under whose influence the fortunes of the mission immediately began to assume a more hopeful

aspect. Shortly after his nomination he set out and travelled through the greater part of the kingdom, preaching the Gospel in so gentle and kindly a spirit as to elicit the support of the ruling classes almost everywhere. Even then, however, it was found that the Siamese themselves showed little or no inclination to change their faith, though some success was met with among the wilder Laos of the north, and even more among the Cambodian and Annamese settlers, of whom there were considerable numbers in Siam, the descendants of captives taken in war, or of refugees from the countries lying to the East.

The Bishop soon became a personal friend of the King, with whom he frequently engaged in long theological discussions. The King, though expressing a personal preference for his own religion, allowed absolute freedom in the matter of choice of belief among his people, and encouraged the Bishop in his efforts at conversion, gave land for the building of churches and schools, and on one occasion even presented the mission with a large number of Cambodian slaves taken in war of whom to make converts, absolute freedom of choice of course not extending to these latter. The mission thus rapidly regained ground ; priests and nuns joined it from France, churches were built, not only in Bangkok, but in many of the provincial towns, and the "Pad luang," as the Roman Catholic priest is called, gradually became an institution in many of the larger villages in the Ménam Valley. Bowring gives the total number of Christians in Siam in the year 1835 as 7,050, and the *personnel* of the mission as consisting of a Bishop, a pro-Vicar, eight European missionaries, and numbers of native priests, catechists, schoolmasters and nuns, all of which is evidence of the steady growth of the mission under the fostering care of Pallegoix.

In 1857 France entered once more into political relations with Siam, making a treaty with her on the lines of that made by England, and adding several clauses for the benefit of the missionaries. Almost from that moment the mission,

which had for so long devoted itself solely to religion, became again a quantity to be reckoned with in the politics of the State. With the institution of extra-territorial rights in Siam, the position of the foreigner in the country became totally different from what it had formerly been. Subject only to the jurisdiction of his newly-appointed Consul, he now found himself enabled, if so minded, to set the Siamese authorities at defiance, and, in fact, the Consul being difficult of access and almost always disposed to deal too leniently with his compatriot, standing practically beyond the reach of justice. It is now a well-established fact that in a country where extra-territorial rights are recognised, every foreigner who may be desirous of taking undue advantage of his position is a constant source of danger as the possible cause, at any moment, of international dispute, more especially when living at a distance from the Consular Court, the only lawful instrument of redress against him. When, therefore, Siam granted these rights to the subjects of France in her treaty with that nation, the French priests already established in the country districts, being withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the native officials and far away from the Consul, who, moreover, as a Catholic and a Frenchman would be unwilling to take action against them, became, in temporal matters, their own masters, with the power of making themselves at any time a thorn in the side of the Government. Moreover, the lands of the Church, given in all good faith by liberal-minded monarchs, were now considered as so many parcels of French territory, entry upon which, if effected by Siamese officials, no matter for what purpose, without the authority of the French Consul or the consent of the presiding priest, constituted a breach of the treaty of friendship existing between the two countries.

Few of the rural priests were proof against the great temptation thus offered of making a show of their immunity from the law to strengthen their position with the ignorant peasantry among whom they lived. The natural conse-



quence was that the priest became an important personage in the neighbourhood where he resided. He who was so strongly protected could surely extend the benefits of such protection to others, and it might well be worth a man's while, especially if he were likely to come into conflict with the law, to embrace Christianity and so obtain a place in the priest's good graces. Thus it came about that the Roman Catholic churches became so many Alsacias in which the bad characters of the neighbourhood found a refuge, swelling the number of their sincere followers, and enlisting the sympathy and protection of the priests, who heartily supported the Christian thief and murderer against heathenish honest men, regardless of the complete subversion of justice thereby occasioned.

The Siamese officials never could be got to realize fully that the French priests, and with them their following, had been removed from their control, so that a crop of disputes between Siam and France was soon raised by the incursions of the police into the Church lands in quest of evil-doers, which disputes frequently assumed the proportions of international questions of grave importance. Meanwhile, however, much superlatively good work was being done, for, true to the traditions of their kind, the priests continued to mingle good with evil in the same astonishing manner as in earlier times. The schools in Bangkok flourished amazingly, the scholars being mainly Chinese or half-breeds; hospitals were organized for the treatment of the poor of the capital, which was rapidly growing into an immense city, and a convent was established, where infants and young girls, chiefly orphans, were received, taken care of, educated and ultimately helped into a comfortable position in life. To the honour of the mission, it is to be said that the benefits of these institutions were made equally accessible to all, regardless of creed, and that while there, undue influence was rarely brought to bear to induce a change of belief. The priests, most of whom knew something of medicine, were constantly visiting

among the people, and treated large numbers in their houses. Some of them also appear to have added miracle-working to their other accomplishments, for several cases are cited of miraculous cures effected, usually followed by the conversion of the patient. The healing art seems, however, to have been exercised more with the object of doing good than in expectation of any return, though the practice of hastily baptizing moribund infants was still persevered in with a view to increasing the number of conversions. Altogether it is probable that, in spite of the nefarious doings of the priests in the outlying districts, the good work of the mission, inspired by Bishop Pallegoix, came nearer to outweighing the bad at this period than at any other of its existence in the country.

## THE OMAYYADS AND THE EASTERN EMPIRE.

BY S. KHUDA BUKHSH, M.A., B.C.L.

AT first sight, it may appear strange that, while the Eternal City yielded to the barbarous assaults of the Goths, Huns, and Vandals, Constantinople was spared similar humiliations.

But our surprise will pass away the moment we closely examine the conditions of the two cities. The survival of the new Rome was owing to many causes. The foremost, perhaps, was its peculiarly advantageous position, which could defy, as it actually did defy, its assailants, and laugh them to scorn. History has preserved the record of the joint effort of the Persians and Avars in the year 626, and of the annual sieges of Constantinople by the Arabs from 672 to 677. In all these cases, and in others besides, the situation of Constantinople was the condition of its safety.

Next to the fortifications which Nature provided for her, she depended for her security upon a series of rulers who were of different metal from the successors of Honorius. Leo and Zeno, Anastasius and Justinian, were equally instrumental in saving the throne of Arcadius from such disgrace as befell that of Honorius.

Again, it is a remarkable fact that the barbarians, already impressed by the grandeur of the city of Constantine, and mindful of their former misfortunes in assailing it, invariably showed, after a time, a tendency to move westward. The barbarians did indeed harry the Eastern Empire, but their ravages were local or temporary; they failed to make any durable impression.

When Alaric turned towards Italy, it was because he remembered the evil days of the past, and desired to woo the capricious goddess of fortune in the West rather than in the East. Whatever evil he inflicted on the Balkan

Peninsula was repaired during the forty years which intervened between his departure and the ravages of the terrible Huns, who completely desolated Thrace and Illyricum. Like the storm of the Visigoths, this was also chased away. The Ostrogoths, the Slavs, and the Bulgarians tried their steel or prowess on the Empire, and it was not till the time of Anastasius that any measure was adopted to effectually roll back these barbarous tides.

This Emperor built the famous walls to check their predatory incursions. Justinian followed up the same course of policy, and built many fortresses to bar the progress of the Slavs and Avars.

Had the Eastern Empire only to contend against the barbarians, it would have preserved the allegiance of its distant provinces, and perhaps have averted the danger from Arabia which threatened, and at last overwhelmed it. But it had also to struggle against the internal dissensions which day by day were exhausting it, and preparing it for its doom.

Two facts stand out in clear light, and explain the easy success of the Arabs in the seventh century. Theological disputes in the first place, and fiscal oppression in the second, thrust a wedge of antagonism between the people and the bureaucracy of Constantinople.

The triumph of the metaphysical subtleties innate in the creed-spinning East is visible enough in the heresies (such as Nestorianism, Eutychianism, Monophysitism, and Monothelitism) which worked mischiefs without end, and succeeded eventually in making the people perfectly indifferent to the welfare of the Empire.

Besides religious persecutions—the characteristic feature of the Eastern Empire—fiscal oppression weighed heavily on the people, and reduced them to a condition of mild slavery. Thus, there was no bond to link the interest of the subject to the Empire, no patriotism to inspire the warrior fighting for his native land, and no conception of the higher principles of religion to mitigate ferocity and

allay passion. In vain did Tiberius and Maurice devote themselves to elevate Roman society, to give it a firmer basis, and invigorate it with nobler principles. When the Eastern Empire was thus tottering to its fall, the wind of fortune wafted from the shores of Africa a man who could meet the difficulties of the time by enforcing drastic measures of reform. This was the famous Heraklius—a strange production of the seventh century. He might well have rivalled the fame of Alexander, or Hannibal, or Cæsar, had not the latter part of his life been blasted by the defeats inflicted on him by the Arabs.

The appearance of Heraklius at a time when the Roman Empire was in the throes of affliction, and the contemporaneous appearance of Mahomet at Mecca as a prophet, legislator, and warrior of the Arabs, are the most singular and interesting events which the seventh century witnessed.

At a time when Arabia was undergoing rapid social and political changes, Mahomet appeared. By means of commerce, fresh ideas were diffused among the nomadic inhabitants of the desert; and by constant connection with the Greeks they gradually assimilated their manners and their civilization. The commerce of the Red Sea was practically in their hands, and, in fact, the important depot of Jotaba was in their possession from the time of Leo I. to that of Anastasius. Circumstances favour men of genius, and the appearance of Mahomet was only consistent with the needs of the time. A member of the family of Qoraish, he was himself initiated into the mysteries of commerce. While the nation was heaving with fresh, healthy, and manly ideas, the air was saturated with canting morals and corrupt tastes. Persia was under the demoralized teachings of Mazdak,\* and the Byzantine Empire was wanting in sound customs and moral discipline. Thus, from all points of view, the rise of Islam occurred at a very favourable time.

\* Sale, Prelim. Disc., pp. 19, 28, 29.

We shall pass over its earlier days, and commence our survey after the Treaty of Hudaibiyah. No sooner had Mahomet established his religion on a firm footing than he began to aspire to carry it beyond the confines of his native country. Ever since the Treaty of Hudaibiyah, Mahomet had continued to send envoys to the foreign chiefs, soliciting them to embrace his religion. The first conflict with the Greeks was caused by the murder of one of these envoys in the Belká. The Moslem army, however, was completely defeated at Muta in 629, and Khalid only just succeeded in bringing back the remnant of his troops.\*

In the following year it was noised abroad that Heraklius was contemplating an attack on the followers of Mahomet. The neophytes girded their loins; an army was organized, and the spiritual head of Islam was lost in the leader of a fearless army. With 30,000 men Mahomet advanced to meet Heraklius, but before he got any further than Tabuk† the report proved to be false. The expedition, however, was not fruitless. Several Jewish and Christian communities in the north of the peninsula were reduced to subjection. Thus, it is evident that Mahomet in his lifetime abundantly proved his intention of giving to Islam a universal importance. Even just before his death, the Arabian prophet prepared an expedition against the Greeks, and it was just ready to start when he died (June 8, 632).‡

The death of the Prophet foreboded a dangerous and a doubtful career for Islam. The pent-up antipathy of the rude idolaters again offered resistance to its progress, and had there not been the courage of Khalid and the wisdom

\* For the facts I am largely indebted to the scholarship of Finlay and Professor Bury (Finlay, vol. i., pp. 351-398; vol. ii., pp. 1-40; Professor Bury, vol. ii., pp. 258-386). Also I have drawn upon the following works: Sismondi, "Chute de l'Emp. Rom.," tom. i., pp. 403-423; tom. ii., pp. 1-102; Drapeyron, pp. 298-352, 361-382, 394-405; Gibbon, chapters li.-liii.; Gasquet, pp. 48-92.

† See Gibbon, vol. vi., Smith's note (a), p. 259.

‡ Bemont et Menod, "Histoire de l'Europe," pp. 140-171; Duruy, "Histoire du Moyen Age," pp. 91-112. The dates are inaccurate.

of Abu Bakr, the opponents of Islam might have gained the day. The immediate successors of Mahomet were bold and resolute, and undoubtedly it was they who paved the way for the greatness of the Moslems.

If the conflict between Ali and Muaviyah had never occurred, and the better days of Islam continued without a cloud, the future of the Mahomedans would have been happier, and perhaps more successful. It was, however, destined that an irrevocable schism should ere long be established. This event proved an inestimable blessing to the Eastern Empire, as it left Constans II. free to deal with the Slavonians.

The caliphate of Abu Bakr was short but brilliant. The rebels who denied the religion of the Prophet, and relapsed into their former idolatry, were forced to submit; and the Moslem banner showed itself on Persian and on Christian soil.

In 633 Syria was invaded by the Arabs, and, although Heraklius was at Edessa or Antioch, he watched this new danger which threatened to dismember the Empire with complete indifference. About the end of 633 Bostra was besieged, and early in the following year surrendered. It was an age of uninterrupted success for the Moslems; city after city was won, and the failure of the Romans to stem the tide was complete. Just before the death of Abu Bakr the Battle of Aznaddin\* was fought, and a Roman army defeated. In the history of the military achievements of Islam the stern Omar has inserted a brilliant page. Legend may have honoured him by coupling with his name romantic exploits, mere creations of fancy; but history does him no less honour by classing him among the best of rulers and most successful of national leaders.

Toward the end of 634 Khalid won a great victory on the banks of the Yermuk (Hieromax). Theodore, the brother of the Emperor, and the commander of the imperial troops, was

\* Guy le Strange, "Palestine under the Moslems," p. 389. July 30, 634, the battle was fought, and death of Abu Bakr, August 22.

defeated. At the Battle of Yermuk the knell of Syria was struck. One victory was the herald of another. Damascus was laid siege to, and taken after a gallant defence by the citizens. Emesa, Hierapolis, Chalcis, Berœa, soon fell into the hands of the neophytes. Heraklius, seeing these misfortunes darkening his old age, quitted Syria in 636. His departure was followed by more terrible misfortunes. Antioch and Jerusalem fell in 637.

A gleam of hope once more brightened the hour of despair, and in 638 the Byzantine Cæsar made one last effort to regain Northern Syria. He sent his son Constantine to Syria, and at Amida concentrated an army, which boldly attempted to wrest Northern Syria from the Moslems; but in the contest the Romans were defeated, and Syria continued to owe allegiance to its new master.

Though the mass of the Syrians calmly accepted the Moslem yoke, still some maintained their national spirit and their national vigour. From Mount Taurus a band of stalwart warriors passed on to the recesses of Mount Lebanon, where they lived in the freedom to which they were wedded. These were called Mardaïtes. So long as they quartered themselves in Mount Lebanon, they were a source of serious danger to the Moslem power in Syria. They not only kept back the torrent of Moslem invasion, but often took the offensive, and made incursions into the Moslem countries.

One of the reasons which induced Muaviah to conclude peace with Constantine IV. was the constant harryings of these Mardaïtes. Although they were rendering real service to the Empire, they were looked upon with suspicion, and even with hatred, by the Court of Constantinople. At the time of Justinian II., however, they were removed from Mount Lebanon and distributed among the provinces of the Empire. The removal of this hostile population told favourably on the progress of the Moslem arms, and Abdul Malik availed himself fully of the opportunity.

If Syria had to mourn its widowhood, Persia was no less



unfortunate. In the caliphate of Abu Bakr, while Abu Obeida was sent to wage war with Syria, Khalid was commanded to bring Persia under the Moslem domination. Khalid was in the enjoyment of a prosperous career on the upper bank of the Euphrates, when he was recalled, and ordered to join the more pressing Syrian invasion.

But the honour of reducing Persia to subjection was reserved for Sa'd. In 636 Sa'd, the lieutenant of Omar, won the Battle of Kadesiyah. A few months after this battle he stormed and pillaged Maidan, the capital of the Persian Empire. Early in 637, the Battle of Yalulah laid at the feet of the Arabs "all the land west of Mount Zagrus, from Nineveh to Susa." For the completion of the conquest of Persia, the Battle of Nehavand was all-important (642); but Persia was not completely subdued till 651, when Yazdagird was assassinated at Merv, and his son fled to the Emperor of China.

Egypt, which had seen strange revolutions, was also to feel the Moslem arm. Though easily conquered, it was continually exposed to attacks from the Byzantine Empire. The various causes of discord already referred to favoured the progress of the Moslems, and the fate of Egypt was the best illustration of it. The Jacobites viewed the Greeks with implacable animosity, and the feeling found a responsive chord in Greek hearts. Already Djarih, the Governor of Egypt, had answered the message of Mahomet with sufficient enthusiasm and courtesy, and when Amr proceeded to its conquest, he was not received as an enemy, but hailed as a deliverer. The Patriarch Cyrus, in concert with Mokaukas, fondly hoped to stave off the horror of war by paying an annual tribute to the Saracens; but Heraklius rejected the proposal, and sent Manuel to defend the province and break off the negotiation. In the battle Manuel was defeated, and Amr was left to carry his hostile sword throughout the country.

The siege of Pelusium cost Amr thirty days, but he had to spend seven months of labour before Babylon (the Roman fortress close to the site of modern Cairo) capitulated.

Alexandria next attracted the victor. The citizens withstood the siege for more than a year, but, as no help was forthcoming from Constantinople, they yielded to the persistency of the Moslems. The loss of Alexandria was greatly mourned by the Empire. Two efforts were made to recover it, but on both occasions the Arabs defeated the Romans.\*

From Alexandria the Arabs advanced towards Libya, and took Barca, Tripoli, and Sabra. But there suddenly came a halt in their progress, on account of the civil war which desolated the Moslem Empire in the second half of the seventh century.

When the stern hand of Omar was removed from the helm of the State (644), social and political anarchy slowly began to steal over the Moslem Empire. The Caliph Othman was weak as a ruler and fickle as a man. The errors issuing from want of firmness were expiated by his murder (655), which was indeed an ominous signal for internecine warfare.

Two rival claimants disputed the caliphate. We cannot detail here the varying success of Ali; suffice it to say that he was ensnared by the treachery of Muaviah. By tactics at last the Governor of Syria attained the goal of his ambition, and became sole Caliph, notwithstanding the opposition which raged in Mesopotamia and Persia. The murder of Ali (660), indeed, greatly helped Muaviah in consolidating the power he had so fondly coveted but so dishonourably won. Ali left two sons, Hasan and Hosain. The people of Irak clung to the family of Ali, and proclaimed Hasan Caliph; but the noble son of Ali resigned his claim in favour of Muaviah. Whatever might be the faults of Muaviah, there is no doubt that posterity has been unduly severe on the son of Abu Sufyan.

\* The Moslems, after conquering Alexandria, left a feeble garrison there, and the Romans, seeing the opportunity, tried to recover Alexandria, but were defeated. In 646 Constantine II. sent an army under Manuel to retake Alexandria, but this attempt also proved abortive.

True it is that he sacrificed religious principles to selfish interest; true it is that contemporaries saw his hand in the deaths of Ashtar and Hasan; and true it is that his dealing with Ali was unworthy of a companion of the Prophet. But the sober judgment of a historian will be favourably influenced in estimating his character when he reckons the services he rendered to Islam.

It has too often been asserted that, with the rise of Muaviyah, the democratic principles of Islam vanished.\* Vague as the expression is, perhaps it is also inconsistent with facts. It, indeed, cannot be denied that the Arabs loved freedom†; but it is extremely doubtful if they ever harboured the truly democratic ideas which permeate the Cantons of Switzerland.

In the early days of Islam the Caliph was both the political and the spiritual leader of the Moslems. His word was law; disobedience to his commands was a violation not only of the country's law, but of God's. Had the first three Caliphs been ambitious, cunning, and artful, absolute monarchy would undoubtedly have been then erected under the shadow of theocracy.

To any keen observer of the political current of the time, it must have been obvious that the age of absolutism and tyranny was at hand; and it was a mere chance circumstance, indeed, that Muaviyah should have displaced that half-religious and half-political presidentship which culminated in Omar and was corrupted in Othman. The political ideas of the Moslems have found a loud echo in the pages of Fakhri,‡ and it is notable that he, like the rest, propounded, favoured, and emphasized the theory of an absolute and an irresponsible monarchy.

In fact, it was an age in which no other form of government could have continued with any success. To cope

\* Ameer Ali, "Spirit of Islam," p. 441.

† See the remarks of Ibn Khaldun on the characteristics of the Arabs. Proleg.

‡ "Duwalul-Islamja," Publ. Gotha. *Vide* introduction.

with the exigencies of time, to struggle with the intricacies of political diplomacy, and to make the jarring interests of the discontented parties chime in with the will of the leader, no man then was more suited and more adapted than Muaviyah. It was not idle flattery nor vain praise when Omar bestowed on the son of Abu Sufyan the title of the Cæsar of the Arabs. The political attitude of Muaviyah towards the immediate successors of Heraklius was indeed worthy of a consummate statesman. He stands in emphatic contrast to Harun-ur-Rashid. As soon as history dispels the glamour of romance which has gathered round the name of the hero of "Arabian Nights," Harun is shown as a different man. He then appears as a whimsical, sensual, and impulsive monarch. His relation with the Eastern Empire was that of a robber. When he made Tyana the base of operations for Asia Minor, and gazed at the seat of Augustus from the hills above Scutari, he ravaged the fairest provinces with the delight which is characteristic of a barbarian. No sooner had he effected a razzia than he departed. To bring those provinces within the pale of Islam was not his aim; he was a mere robber, who cared for nothing beyond carrying off rich plunder.

Far different was the case with the son of Abu Sufyan. Though he failed in taking Constantinople, yet he invested the capital with the definite intention of planting the crescent in the place of the Cross. Religious toleration was deep-rooted in him, and during his caliphate the Christians enjoyed equal privileges with the Moslems.\*

\* It is extremely unjust to accuse the early Moslems of intolerance. We must remember the words of Finlay, that "liberty of conscience an idea almost unknown to any but the Mohammedans" (Finlay, vol. i., p. 375). Persecution is indeed contrary to the principles of Islam, and the Qoran itself says, "Let there be no violence in religion." Perhaps Mohammedan history will not furnish a parallel to the cruelty with which Charlemagne treated the Saxons, and Henry the Fowler the Slavs. A discursive review only of the laws of Charlemagne, framed for Saxony, will show how little indeed the then most Christian King of Europe appreciated the teaching of Jesus (Zeller, "Fondation de l'Emp. German," pp. 29, 30). If we refer to the persecutions by the Moslems in Spain, we

A strong personality like Muaviyah was necessary, and doubly necessary, to pacify the commotions of the time.

Ali was a most chivalrous knight, and, indeed, impersonated in himself the noble qualities of the Qoraish and the beautiful virtues of the Arabs, but he was much below the mark of a statesman. If he had any genius, it was more fitted to be displayed in a religious assembly than in a political cabinet. An ardent visionary, a weak commander, and a religious idealist, he would have imperilled rather than bettered the condition of the Moslem. There is only one event in the life of Muaviyah which a historian cannot fully explain : it is the succession of Yezid. How a wise father, conversant with the follies of the son, could have elected him as his successor is one of the anomalies which history has often presented. We need not be reminded that the philosophic Emperor Marcus Aurelius fell into an error which he might have condemned in others. He, like Muaviyah, adorned his profligate son with the purple, despite the fact that he trampled upon the virtues of

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shall invariably find that the Christians on almost all occasions compelled them to take that course. Mr. Hines, in his brilliant monograph entitled "Christianity and Islam in Spain," has brought home this fact very clearly. His treatment of Islam is most liberal and most Christian in spirit. The feeling of the Mohammedans on the subject is expressed in the beautiful saying of Abbas II., one of the Persian *suffs*, "that it is for God, not for me, to judge men's conscience, and I will never interfere with what belongs to the tribunal and Lord of the universe." Again, Akbar followed in practice the principles thus expressed by his minister, Abul Fazl : "Persecution, after all, defeats its own end : it obliges men to conceal their opinion, but produces no change" (Hines, p. 92). The code of Justinian incapacitated pagans, Jews and Samaritans from holding civil or military office, except in the lowest ranks of the latter. Further, we find that the assemblies of all heretics were forbidden, their books were to be collected and burned, their rites, baptism and ordination prohibited (Milman, "Latin Christianity," vol. ii., p. 34). The Mohammedans never grudged giving offices to non-Mohammedans; in fact, we find Abdul Malik holding Akhtal, the Christian poet, in great honour. When they conquered a country, they always respected the established cult of the inhabitants (Reinaud, "Invasions des Sarracens en France," p. 8). Very often the Christians were so fiercely persecuted in the Eastern Empire that they used to take refuge among the Mohammedans.

manhood, and shed a lurid light on the purity of his father.

With the accession of Muaviah, Damascus rose to the dignity of a capital. We shall now pass on to refer to the relation of this dynasty with the Eastern Empire till the accession of Leo the Isaurian, in whose reign was fought the last great battle with the Omayyads at Acroinon.

From February 11, 641, to September, 642, the policy of Constantinople was blighted by Court intrigue. With the accession of Constans II., the house of Heraklius resumed its former vigour, and though there were losses of frontier and of small islands, this reign may be justly classed among the halcyon days of Constantinople.

In 638 Muaviah was appointed the governor of the Moslem Empire, from Egypt to the Euphrates. During his political career he acquitted himself well. It was under him that the Moslems first built a naval armament, and inflicted a memorable defeat on the Roman fleet at Phoenix, off the Lycian coast.

The year 646, in which Manuel made a fruitless attempt to recover Alexandria, also witnessed the defeat of the Roman army sent against Muaviah, who paid back the insult by overrunning parts of Asia Minor and Armenia.

The preparation of a fleet was highly beneficial to the cause of Islam. Cyprus (649) had first to feel the power of the Moslem navy. The expedition, however, obtained only a partial success. Constantia, the capital city, was taken, and the island was visited with all the misfortunes which accompany war. Aradus (lying between Gabala and Tripoli) next fell a prey; but the city was not destroyed till the following year. Constans, owing to the necessities of internal reform and besetting danger of invasion from all sides, made peace with Muaviah (651).

It was an age in which the gods of the Romans had deserted them. Armenia was in 652 acquired by the Moslems by the treachery of Pasagantes (a Persian), and when an effort was made in 654 by the Roman general Maurianus

to retake the city, his hope was frustrated, and the Saracen general Abib kept the city tributary to the Caliph.

In the same year Rhodes was added to the list of the Moslem conquests, and so confident of his power and resources had the son of Abu Sufyan become that in 655 he actually prepared an armament against the new Rome, and defeated the fleet commanded by Constans II. himself at Phoenix, off the Lycian coast.

With the murder of Othman (656), however, Muaviah was compelled to take the defensive. The question of his murder may be despatched here with laconic brevity. In 659 Muaviah was forced to make a treaty with the Romans in order to have all his forces at his disposal to fight with Ali.

The conditions of the treaty were favourable to the Romans, but the Moslem politician did not hesitate to contract a seasonable peace. The Caliph promised to pay 1,000 nomismata and a horse and a slave as long as the peace lasted.

The departure of Constans from Constantinople exposed Asia Minor to further incursions, and from 663 to 667 the Mohammedans annually invaded Roumania. But it was not till 668 that a heavy loss was sustained by the Empire. In that year, however, Sapor, the commander of the troops on the Armenian frontier, revolted, and communicated to Muaviah the design of submitting Roumania to him, if the Caliph would support him against the Emperor. Muaviah fell in with the proposal, and sent his general Phad alas to lend him assistance.

The rebellious Sapor was not destined to enjoy the fruit of his treachery. Thrown from a horse, he died of the shock. Phad alas, intent on carrying out the plan, asked the Caliph for reinforcements. Yezid was sent to succour him. Both generals advanced towards Chalcedon. Many cities of note were taken, among which was Amorium, but the Arabs could not long maintain possession of it. Andreas, in the last decade of the same century,

retook Amorium, and put every Arab to the edge of the sword.

When Constans II. had taken up his position in Sicily, he tried to assail from there the Arabs of Africa. Carthage and other cities were recovered ; but the Arabs were equal to the occasion, and at Tripoli the Roman standard was again humbled.

In 668 Constans was assassinated at the baths called \* Daphne. The murder of his brother and the treatment of Pope Martin I. will always cast the foulest imputation on his memory ; yet he is deserving of some praise and some respect as an Emperor who, in the interest of civilization and progress, checked the tide of the Arabian hordes.\*

Constantine IV. proved a worthy son, and steered the Empire wisely amidst the storms of politics. In his reign Crete was taken, but this conquest was short-lived.† The most important event of his reign was the annual siege of Constantinople by the Moslems from 672 to 677, which, had it been successful, might have considerably changed the political geography of Europe. Defeat greatly weakened the Moslem power, and, in addition, led the Mardaïtes to make hostile expeditions into the Moslem countries. Muaviah, placed in straitened circumstances, made a second peace with the Eastern Empire. To purchase thirty years' peace the Saracens consented to pay 3,000 pounds of gold, fifty captives, and fifty thoroughbred horses annually.

On the death of Constantine IV., Justinian II., at the premature age of sixteen, ascended the throne. Muaviah had already died (680) in the lifetime of Constantine

\* He treated Martin badly because he opposed his "type," which appeared in 648, when he was only 18. This, like the "Ecthesis" of Heraclius, demanded complete silence on religious questions concerning the operation of will in Christ.

† Muaviah had sent an army against Crete during the time of his contemplated attack on Constantinople in 651. Abdullah Ibn Qais was the leader of the second expedition. After this, all the Moslem attacks on Crete were from Africa.



Pogonatus. The Moslem Empire after Muaviyah was writhing under the lash of civil strife, and it was not till the time of Abdul Malik that Constantinople once more suffered from the Moslem attacks.

The memory of Yezid I. is sullied by three acts—the pillage of Medina, the murder of Hosain, and the taking of the Kaaba—acts which have never been pardoned by the Moslems. During his Caliphate, however, Abdullah Ibn Zobair was constantly fomenting sedition.

Muaviyah II. reigned only forty days; his successor, Merwan, was advanced in years when he ascended the throne. He was threatened and attacked by Dhahak ibn Kais and Mus'ab, a brother of Zobair, but both these rebellions were quelled,\* and Islam, perhaps, will be grateful to Merwan for giving it a ruler like Abdul Malik.

Abdul Malik found himself at the helm of State at a most critical period. Though the authority of Abdullah Ibn Zobair was seriously impaired, he still maintained a dangerous hold on Arabia and Irak. The son of Merwan had still to achieve much before he could enthrone himself without a rival. Had the Caliph had to deal only with the party of Zobair, perhaps he would have attained success sooner than he actually did. In Irak, however, for a time the power of Zobair was shaken by the rise of Mokhtar, who declared himself the supporter of the family of Ali, and wished to proclaim a son of Ali, Mohammed ibn al-Hanafiya, Caliph. Mokhtar at first successfully waged war with the Zobairite Governor of Kufa, till he was overtaken, defeated, and slain by Mus'ab and Mohallab. This event laid Irak once more at the feet of Abdullah bin Zobair. We thus find a curious period in the history of Islam—four rival

\* The cause of the rebellion of Dhahak was strange. He was led to oppose the Omayyads on the ground that Muaviyah I. and Yezid had chosen their wives from the Yemenite tribe of Kalb. It is to be remembered that this party was chiefly instrumental in bringing about the overthrow of the Omayyads' dynasty. During the Caliphate of Hisham, Kaisites raised the standard of revolt in Irak and Khorasan.

claimants were disputing among themselves the sceptre and the Caliphate.\*

Hitherto the Omayyad Caliph had suffered only reverses of fortune. Threatened with disasters within and without, Abdul Malik was unable to give shape to any definite policy. In Mesopotamia the Omayyad troops had already been beaten, and when, in A.H. 69 (688-689 A.D.), Abdul Malik had left Damascus for Irak, he was suddenly obliged to abandon the project by the treachery of Amr ibn Sa'ïd, who in his absence had declared himself Caliph. Owing to these besetting difficulties, the wary warrior Abdul Malik thought it better to continue friendly relations with the Eastern Empire; and it was in pursuance of this steady policy that, in 685, he renewed the treaty on the payment of one pound of gold, one slave, and one horse for every day in the year. This policy, indeed, was sound and judicious, as any hostility on the part of the Eastern Empire, coupled with the serious disorders at home, might have been fatal to the Omayyads. In the reign of Justinian II., moreover, Abdul Malik† revised the treaty which he had made with his father, slightly altering its conditions. He engaged to pay 1,000 nomismata and the daily tribute of one horse and one slave, while the Romans had to allow the Saracens half of the revenues of Armenia, Iberia, and Cyprus. But the most favourable result of this treaty for the Moslems was the removal of the Mardaites,‡ who were a real danger to the Moslem power in Syria. This false step on the part of Justinian was of incalculable importance to the Moslems. Abdul Malik was moved to this course of policy because he had still the son of Zobair to contend against, and to him he turned his attention as soon as the friendly relation with the Eastern Empire was established. In Irak the extortion practised by the Zobairite governor insensibly

\* Abdullah bin Zobair, the Caliph of Mecca; Abdul Malik, the Caliph of Damascus; Mohammed bin Hanafiya, and the Kharèjite leader, Najdina bin Amir.

† Abdul Malik renewed with Justinian the peace which he had made with Constantine. Bury, vol. ii., p. 320.

‡ Ranke, "Weltgeschichte," vol. v., pp. 188 *et seq.*

increased in that region the influence of Abdul Malik. Before marching against Irak, Abdul Malik had already gained to his side the chiefs of Mus'ab's army. Abdul Malik advanced to meet the army of Mus'ab, which was encamped three parasangs from the plain of Dair-al-Jathalik. When the crisis came to fighting, Mus'ab found himself deserted by his party; but his courage did not fail. After this victory, Irak welcomed with acclamation the Caliph of Damascus. Only Arabia now adhered to the party of Zobair; but there also opposition was crushed ere long. The young general Hajjaj bin Yusaf subdued the Kaaba, and won it for Abdul Malik. Abdullah, the son of Zobair, went in despair to his mother Asma, who counselled him to preserve his martial courage and meet death sword in hand.

On October 14, 692, Abdullah was at last slain, and with him the last ember of Zobairite resistance was permanently extinguished.

As soon as Abdullah had succumbed to the Omayyad sword, Abdul Malik became sole Caliph. True, the son of the Hanafiya was still alive, yet he was not of much political importance since the death of Mokhtar. The son of Merwan was, indeed, one of the most favoured children of fortune; no conspiracy succeeded against him. The Kharejites were kept at bay during his reign; and the insidious Ibn Al Ashatt, who usurped the title of Caliph in Sijistan, was finally conquered by 'Yezid, son of the famous Mohallab.

Having pacified the troubles which threatened the safety of Islam and stopped the progress of the Moslem arms, Abdul Malik was left to pursue his conquering career. The treaty which was renewed by Abdul Malik was not kept by the Romans with scrupulous fidelity. Leonatus, the General of the Anatolian troops, had, in defiance of the treaty, wrung Albania and Roumania from the Mohammedans. This, indeed, caused hostility between the two powers, but Abdul Malik was too much engrossed with internal dissensions to return the insult.

On the wrong-headed Justinian II. the success over the Bulgarians during the year 689 or 690 brought a terrible misfortune. Being over-trustful of the Slavonic captives, whom he transformed into a "supernumerary corps," he took the offensive, and refused to receive the Saracen money which was inscribed with some verses from the Qoran.\*

\* Abdul Malik in vain protested against this hostile measure, and the settlement was left to the arbitrament of the sword. In Cilicia, near Sebastopolis, a memorable battle was fought. The Slavs proved treacherous, and the Saracens too strong. The victory inclined towards the Saracens, and the angry Justinian fled to the Propontis.

The immediate result of this victory was the subjugation of Southern Armenia, which was betrayed by Symbarius,† and Cyprus, which had already seen the Moslem on its soil, was entirely abandoned to them.

The Eastern Empire at this time was a prey to bold adventurers. Before the return of Justinian, Leonatus and Tiberius filled the throne. The reign of the former is known for the final loss of Carthage and Africa, but that of the latter might equal the military exploits of the Antonines.

Qairwan was planted by Okba in 670,‡ taken by the Christians in 676, recovered by the Arabs under Zobair,

\* Before the time of Abdul Malik, according to Macrizi, the Arabs caused coins to be minted on which they preserved the Roman or Persian figures, but added Arabian names or inscriptions. In A.H. 18 Omar had coins of this kind minted. According to Macrizi, even Abdul Malik had coins struck representing himself with a sword by his side. This was objected to by the Moslems. Then the Caliph substituted for them, after the year 76 of the Hegira, the Mohammedan coins with which we are acquainted.—De Sacy's paper in the *Journal Asiatique* (*apud* Gibbon, vol. vi., p. 378).

† Professor Bury has drawn up a valuable sketch of the relation of the Arabs with Armenia, vol. ii., p. 322, note (4).

‡ Finlay, note (2), p. 382; the article on "Mohammedanism," in the "Encyclopædia Britannica." Okba bin Nafi permanently established Qairwan in a little plain situated at a little distance from the first encampment of Muaviyah bin Hodajj, p. 566; *cf.* "Ibn Khall," p. 35, note (5), vol. i.

retaken by the Christians in 683, but finally conquered by Hasan in 697. Hasan ibn Noman conquered the coast of Africa as far as Carthage, but no sooner was he away from the scene of operations than John the Patrician reconquered it. This conquest of John, however, was only temporary, and Musa bin Nosair permanently drove the Greeks from Carthage and the African coast. The valiant Musa carried his success as far as Tlemcen. The defeat of the Romans at Carthage cost Leonatus his throne. He was supplanted by Tiberius. Again the tides turn, and to our great surprise we find the Romans making incursions in Northern Syria, Heraklius, Tiberius's brother, gaining two successive victories over the Saracens (702 and 703 A.D.). Still, the Moslems were not altogether losers. The Roman incursion of the year 700 was answered by the capture of Mopsuestia and by the acquisition of the Fourth Armenia, which aimed at throwing off the Mohammedan yoke. The year in which Justinian returned from his exile witnessed the death of Abdul Malik.\* For six years Justinian indulged in brutal massacres, and followed up a policy of revenge.

The loss sustained by the Empire was not of any serious nature. Tyana, however, was gained by the Saracens during this period, and in 710 and 711 the Empire was attacked and invaded. After Justinian had atoned for his follies with death, three obscure and incapable Cæsars occupied the throne, till a new dynasty was founded by Leo the Isaurian. The Eastern Empire at this juncture was in a most defenceless condition. The swarms of barbarians were constantly streaming down on the frontier. Thrace lay open to the plundering expeditions of the Bulgarians, Thessalonica was repeatedly besieged by the Slavonians, and the fate of Asia Minor, by the conquest of Tyana, was left entirely at the mercy of the Moslems.

The immediate successors of Abdul Malik were Walid and Suleiman—two able and powerful Caliphs. Under Walid the Moslem power was extended far and wide, and

\* He died on October 8, A.D. 705.

the most brilliant, perhaps, of all enterprises of his age was the conquest of Spain.\* Amasia in Pontus fell into the hands of the Moslems in 712, and Antioch in Pisidia endured the same fate in 713. It was during the Caliphate of Walid that the Moslems prepared for a fresh siege of Constantinople. Anastasius II. took every precaution to stave off the impending danger, but neither was the Roman Emperor then destined to obtain a triumph over the Moslems, nor were the Moslems to succeed against Constantinople. The death of Walid, however, did not prevent the execution of the plan, and perhaps the dissolution and anarchy of which Constantinople was the scene further acted as a bait to Suleiman (715-717). Suleiman made a bold effort. Two armies were sent into Roumania, one under the command of his brother Maslamah, and the other under a general who bore the same name as the Caliph. Amorium was besieged by Suleiman, but it was rescued by the tact and diplomacy of Leo. While the Mohammedan army was in progress, the Isaurian general proclaimed himself Emperor (717), and won the gratitude of the people by saving them from an imminent conquest. Maslamah, in the meantime, pressed onward, and met with no serious opposition in his march through Asia Minor. After capturing Pergamus, he marched to Abydos, where, on September 1, he was joined by Suleiman, who had come with 1,800 great warships.

The besiegers encamped before Constantinople on August 1, 717, and after a useless siege of exactly twelve months retired with irreparable loss. Leo had prepared here a most powerful defence, and the winter unfortunately proved exceptionally severe. Natural difficulties, coupled with Greek fire, wrecked the hopes of the Moslems.

The siege of 718 was more vigorous than the one which Constantinople suffered in the reign of Constantine Pogonatus, and Leo, indeed, in turning back this torrent of Mohammedan invasion, faithfully discharged the responsi-

\* Ibn Khaldun, "*Histoire des Berbers*," tom. i., p. 341.

bilities which were imposed upon him as the guardian of the Eastern Empire.

This aspiring attempt of the Moslem was followed by a transient lull, and the Caliphates of Omar II. and Yezid II. were too much occupied in dealing with the new danger which threatened the Mohammedan world to make any conquest or any attack on the Eastern Empire. In the Caliphate of Omar II. the reactionary movement against the Omayyads began and finally triumphed, and ruined the dynasty founded by the son of Abu Sufyan.

The Caliph Hisham, despite conspiracies against him throughout the realm, took the offensive once more, and availed himself of the anarchy which again began to threaten the Empire by the publication of the edict against the image-worship. Hisham ascended the throne in 724, but took no steps against the Eastern Empire till 726, after which the Empire was exposed to annual invasion under the Generals Suleiman and Muaviyah.

The year 739, however, witnessed the last important engagement between the Omayyads and the Eastern Empire. A large expedition was organized, and four generals were appointed to assail the Empire simultaneously at different points. While the Western part of Taurus was attacked by Suleiman, and the district of Capadocia by another general, Malik and Sidal Battal aimed at ravaging the westerly part of the Anatolic theme. To meet this body Leo advanced with his son and successor Constantine, and inflicted upon it a memorable defeat at Acroinon, to the south of Dorylæum.

With this battle terminate the hostilities of the Omayyads against the Cæsars of Constantinople, for three successive Caliphs—Walid II., Yezid III., and Merwan II.—were too much troubled with the Abbaside movement to strike any blow at Christendom. Not again till the rise of the Abbasides were the Moslems and Christians locked in deadly strife.

During the Omayyad dynasty the Moslems won laurel

after laurel on the battlefield, and had they enjoyed an age of political tranquillity they might have surpassed the intellectual activity of the Abbasides. Islam, if for nothing else, indeed, is indebted to this dynasty for carrying its standard to distant regions of the globe, where myriads of people welcomed, and lived and thrived under, its influence.

Further, it is to be remembered that it was on the foundations laid by this dynasty that the Abbasides built the enduring monument of their glory—a glory which was not confined to political supremacy, but also brought in its train the intellectual and social regeneration of the Moslems.



## MARCO POLO'S TANGUT.\*

BY E. H. PARKER.

DURING this war the Tangut men endeavoured to detach the Tibetans of Si-ning and Si-liang from their allegiance to China. Tungchan, son of Kuksara, was the chief of the former, and Aliku (a native of Khoten), adopted son of Tungchan, was the leader of the latter. The Chinese, in the fighting for the possession of modern Lan-chou Fu, which went on during 1083, received considerable assistance from Aliku, who, on the death of Tungchan without heirs, was voted his successor. Tangut having at last decided to signify her readiness to accept peace on certain conditions, the Chinese Emperor once more seized the opportunity to place himself in the right as a victor, winding up, however, in true Chinese fashion with the important and comfortable compensatory sentence: "Subsidies as before."

In 1085 the Chinese Emperor and the Tangut Dowager both died, so that there were now openings for mutual conventional civilities by way of variation from this incessant warfare, though desultory hostilities, notwithstanding these compliments, still went on in the Lan-chou region. The accession of a new Emperor was thought by China a convenient occasion for giving way a little. It is, perhaps, worth while quoting the words used on this occasion by the great statesman and historian Sz-ma Kwang, to whom the matter was referred. He said: "This is a matter touching the security of our frontiers, and we must not be in too great a hurry. The Ling-hia campaign (*i.e.*, the fighting around Ling Chou and Ning-hia) was of our own seeking, and the new places we at present occupy belong of right to them; as they now accept our suzerainty, we can scarcely refuse to give these places back. Otherwise they will say that they hastened to seize the favourable

\* Continued from April, 1901, pp. 363-378.

moment offered by a new accession to make a request for justice, and did so with all due deference, but that China still refuses to meet them half-way—a proof that submission is, after all, a vain means for seeking to obtain right, and that the use of force is plainly the only sensible way to secure it. If they take this attitude, we may expect insolent letters from them at the very least, if not attempts to retake the places by force. It is surely better to swallow the leek, and give way now, than to possibly incur the shame of being forced to do so later on.” As he was supported by a statesman of almost equal celebrity, named Wên Yen-poh, his advice carried the day, although the large majority were for unyielding war.

In 1086 the King of Tangut died, and was succeeded by his eldest son, born of Dame Liang. The new ruler was promptly confirmed in his functions by both Cathay and Manzi (Sung); in due course his patents as King and Dominus were sent to him by special envoys from the respective rival courts of North and South China. Although the Sung Emperor ordered the return of all towns taken by him, and on the sole condition that Chinese captives were returned by Tangut, hostilities never entirely ceased, and the delimitators were quite unable to come to an agreement; it is quite clear that at this time the northern wedge of Shen Si, including the towns of Kia Chou, Mi-chi and Sui-têh, still so called, belonged to Tangut; but in 1091-2 there was renewed fighting both here and around Lan-chou Fu, and the assistance of Cathay was accordingly invoked against China, whose delimitator seems to have objected to “shops being built” within 10 li of places manifestly belonging to Tangut. In 1096 both the King of Tangut and his mother were in the field, engaged in the somewhat unregal duty of “personally conducting the drummers”; the Chinese suffered a severe defeat at the modern An-sai, which was successfully stormed by the Tanguts with a loss to the Chinese of 2,500 men, 50,000 cwt. of grain, and 10,000,000 feeds of

grass. The life of one Chinese prisoner was spared on condition that he would take the following letter, either branded into or tied round his neck, to the Celestial headquarters: "It is but yesterday since the State of Hia discussed the frontier question with the Emperor's Government, and there remained but few points of difference, all which might have easily been settled by means of patience and reasonableness. But all on a sudden your Government changed its mind, and threw back the frontier to a certain booth (or stage). In our anxiety to effect a settlement, we gave way on this point, but erected a number of *p'u* (shops, booths, stages, or police-stations) for the protection of our cultivators. However, the Fu-Yen (modern Fu Chou and Yen-an) authorities sent out a military force to level them all, besides crossing the frontier and plundering our people. The popular indignation was such that it was proposed by some of us to take Yen Chou (Yen-an) from you; however, in our desire to be conciliatory, we have contented ourselves with taking Kin-ming (An-sai), just to let you feel the edge of our weapons a little, but without failing too much in our allegiance."

This letter was sent to the Privy Council; but, as the historian frankly states, "it was not laid before His Majesty." That cynical monarch laughed complacently when he was told of the loss of An-sai, and gleefully delivered himself in the following fashion: "Ha! ha! a host of 500,000 has marched far away from its base, has it? Ten days will not elapse, nor will more than one extra town fall, before they will have to clear out altogether." "And," says the historian, "His Majesty was right; they did withdraw." In 1097 the Chinese gained some considerable successes both in Shen Si and (modern East) Kan Suh (which modern name, taken from *Cam-pichu* and *Suc-ciur*, is, strictly speaking, a misnomer). Several urgent messages were sent to Cathay, and a special Ambassador named Yelüh Yen was sent to China "to hint that peace be made with Hia"; and in 1099 the Tangut King lost his warlike mother.

The Cathayans responded to this appeal of the Tanguts by ordering them to assist in punishing the Basmäls, which they did. This remark is particularly interesting in connection with the Tangut claim to Turfan, already cited, for the Basmäls are mentioned not only in Chinese history, but also in the ancient Turkish inscriptions recently discovered under circumstances which prove that they were a Turkish clan, and had occupied Urumtsi at least during the eighth century. The Cathayans name the Basmäls as being a people beyond their own dominions, and it was only in connection with a Chub (or Tsubu) revolt on the part of their vassals farther east that their arms were temporarily extended so far to the west. Until 1124 no Cathayans ever entered Turkestan. The Cathayans say that, towards the end of 1099, "Hia State sent to express thanks for the Sung men's having stopped warlike operations." This would appear to be putting a good face in Cathayan fashion on assistance really derived from Hia, for the Sung history tells us that (two months earlier than these alleged thanks) troubles broke out in connection with the Tibetan tribes between the Yellow River and the Sz Ch'wan frontier under Kuksara's great-grandson Lung-tsan (? Srong-btsan). The Tanguts attacked the Chinese forces which were sent to arrange this matter. One of their Princesses, and also a Ouigour and a Cathayan Princess, seem to have fallen into Tibetan hands, and were taken by Srong Btsan to the Chinese Court shortly afterwards. The Tanguts were so badly beaten that the King decided to write the following letter to the Sung Emperor: "Your subject's country has been unfortunate for some time, and has suffered severe disasters. The clans of two successive Queen-mothers have arrogated administrative power, and traitor Ministers have assumed authority, in such wise that frontier hostilities have broken out, to the repeated chagrin of your Majesty's heart. The history of these intrigues is so complicated that I will waive any attempt to explain matters further. Luckily, I have succeeded in exter-

minating the intriguing party, and in getting the reins of duty once more into my youthful hands. I appeal to you from this great distance, trusting that you will see who was originally to blame, and will grant the continuance of treaty, oath, tribute, and duty, all on the old lines. It will be my pleasant duty to instruct the border officials to refrain from raising further points of dispute, to warn my people, and to follow the behests of true civilization. May I and my kingdom be blasted if I break my word. I await your commands." The Emperor's gracious reply ran: "You, with your fierce cabals, have concocted many ill schemes, which have naturally run you foul of our frontier officials; but as you seem able to see the error of your ways, you solicit my commands, and you crave the continuance of old agreements, we, reflecting that all persons over yonder are our babes, feel it to be in accordance with our heart and our will that they do have tranquillity. We commend your repentance, and accord your prayers. Play not false with this treaty! We eat not our own words. Annual gifts as before." It will be observed that China then, as now, is always ready to give away the kernel so long as she can flourish the shell. The pacific Emperor died shortly after this (1100), and the King of Tangut seems to have now endeavoured to place himself on good terms with both his big neighbours, and to improve his ways. He established and endowed a training-college and a hospital; he also applied to the Cathayans for a Princess; but the Cathayan Emperor dying in 1101, he did not secure the girl until 1104. Whilst these marriage negotiations were going on, Hia made several applications for assistance against Sung attacks, but as no mention of these is made in Sung history, we must place them on a level with Mr. Kruger's British outrages as related by the imaginative Dr. Leyds to the sympathetic French people. In 1104, however, there is some real ground for suspecting Chinese treachery. At that time the rascally Premier Ts'ai King was in power. His name is particularly interesting to

students of Chinese because the celebrated romance "Kin-p'ing-mei" (undoubtedly one of the finest historic novels in the world) gives a most vivid picture of the dissoluteness of the Manzi Court in his time. The sale of this book is interdicted on account of its gross immorality even in China, but I once had the pleasure of reading it through during a period of tedious sickness at Hoihow. Well, Ts'ai King sent to the rescue a General, who not only reconquered the Tibetan region mentioned, but endeavoured also to sow discord in Tangut, besides offering broadcast rewards for heads captured and encouragements to renegades to desert. Three years of warfare followed, until in 1106 the Cathayans sent an envoy to the Sung Government, "directing them to return the Hia land appropriated," for which relief the Tanguts expressed much thanks. The King reported in 1108 the birth of a son by the Cathayan Princess, but the Nüchên Tartars were now beginning to threaten the very existence of Cathay, so that Sung took no notice whatever of her "directions."

A Tibetan named Li O-i, who seems to have been entrusted with a Chinese command on the frontier, conceived about this time a plan worthy of the most disloyal Afrikander. He wrote to the nearest Tangut General: "I have served the Imperial Government here for twenty years, and I notice that they are as backward in collecting fodder in spring as they are neglectful about storing it in autumn; moreover, they only pay for their transport with I O U's or receipts which are almost worthless. Before the autumn stores arrive, their armies are already half starved, and if you get everything ready and go straight for the town where I am stationed, you can take it with perfect ease; that done one city will fall after the other. For several years past I have quietly buried stores of grain in all the towns, so that you need no transport whatever; your men have only to sit down comfortably and fill their bellies." Unfortunately for Tangut, the Chinese had a Sir Alfred Milner there as Commissioner, and he soon got

wind of this nefarious plot, besides obtaining information where the grain was buried. When the Boers, so to speak, came riding over the frontier 10,000 strong, they found they had nothing to eat, so the wily O-i was obliged to unmask his villainy, and to take flight along with them. War now broke out once more on a wholesale scale under the supreme direction of the notorious eunuch T'ung Kwan—a wretched creature, who was responsible a few years later for the loss of the Peking plain to the Nüchêns. At first this Chinese Narses did very well, but as he accepted bribes to conceal “unfortunate mishaps” and report bogus victories, things soon degenerated into an orgy of insubordination. In 1112 the Tanguts of a certain city (unidentified) within their own dominions accepted the Chinese offers made to them and surrendered, but the treacherous General Liu Fah utilized his opportunity by massacring every soul in the place, “taking 3,000 heads.” The Tanguts took a terrible revenge at a town in the neighbourhood of modern P'ing-liang (East Kan Suh). There had been no snow for some time, and the soil was very dry; they first sent 20,000 or 30,000 horsemen to gallop continuously round the walls, raising such a dust that no one could see anything even a yard off. Under the protection of this dust they hastily bored a way under the moat and the wall, got inside unperceived, and massacred every living creature in the town. The eunuch, not to be beaten, now urged the valiant Liu Fah to march into and take possession of the Shoh-fang (the line of the Great Wall forming the boundary south of Ordos). The unfortunate commander marched out with 20,000 men as far as the Tangut city of T'ung-an (near Marco Polo's Egrigaia). There he met the King's brother, Prince Chako, who was in command of three columns, foot and cavalry combined. The fight was a very obstinate one, and lasted all day, until at last the Chinese horses and men alike began to languish for want of food, and more especially of water. One division was thrust back upon the other, until finally an utter rout

resulted. Liu Fah endeavoured to fly alone under cover of night, but he sprained his ankle as he ran, and was arrested at a small Tangut post just as he was endeavouring to sneak past. His head was brought in to Prince Chako, who observed commiseratingly to his followers: "General Liu got the better of us at old Kulung town, and also at the Sweet Springs (where the first fighting and later massacre took place). We have often turned our backs to his impetuous valour, and we even thought him a heaven-born captain. Who would have thought that his head should be stuck on a pike this day and brought to me by a common trooper! His mistake lay in over-confidence, engendered of victory. Let us ourselves take the lesson." He then followed up his success with a view to taking a new citadel the Chinese had built in a mountain gorge. After inspecting it, however, Chako said: "Let it alone; it is impossible either for ourselves or for them to victual this place from either end. Leave it as a 'lump of sickness' for the Southern Empire to cherish." The Chinese accordingly reported to their Emperor having "gloriously retaken" the town thus abandoned, "and," continues the historian, "as Chako had said, we weakened ourselves by holding an utterly useless territory." In spite of all this, Tangut soon afterwards made friendly overtures to China, which were, however, rendered unavailing on account of the miserable eunuch's corrupt intrigues. The Chinese derisively call him "our grand old woman," and "our fag-end of a man," the latter being a common term for all eunuchs.

Meanwhile, the once powerful Cathayan Dynasty had come to an end (see *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, October, 1900), and in 1117 "Sung, Corea, and Hia were ordered to address their communications to the Nüchêns," and, indeed, for many years in succession they all three sent humble tribute every year. Some of the defeated Cathayans passed far to the north of Tangut, and allying themselves with the Chubs (or Tsupu), the Ouigours, and many other



vassals in the Karakorum region, passed west to Samarcand : others took refuge in Tangut, whose King at once offered hospitality, and even sent 30,000 men into Tenduc to assist the fugitive Cathayan Emperor, Akwo ; for this service he was patented as "Emperor of Hia State." But the Nüchên Generals defeated the Tangut troops, and one of their Princes, assuming plenipotentiary powers, professed to have received from the Nüchên Emperor the following communication for transmission to the Hia authorities : "The King of Hia derives his title from Cathay, to which State he has remained true in time of stress. The State of Cathay has now been conquered. If you are prepared to do in the matter of paying tribute as in the days of Cathay, then by all means do so without delay. If the Dominus of Cathay goes to Tangut, tell them to arrest and send him to us." It will be noticed that rival Emperors affect never to concede to each other a higher title than Dominus—if they dare. In 1124 the Tanguts, aware that the Cathayan Emperor was a fugitive amongst the Tang-hiang tribes north of Tenduc, decided to take the oath of allegiance to the Nüchêns, but at the same time claimed compensation, which was promptly granted in the shape of certain cessions in the Tenduc region. Accordingly, in 1124 the King of Tangut sent up the following document : "Your subject, K'ien-shun" (his personal name, and therefore a sign of complete vassalage), "speaks : Your Proconsuls of the North-west and South-west Marches have sent messengers with a despatch, in which it is graciously set forth that 'if the Hia State repents her former error, arrests and sends in the Cathayan Dominus, takes the oath of allegiance, and formally declares it to us all in the form previously required by Cathay, possibly all may turn out well, and we may conclude an offensive and defensive alliance.' In reply, your subject begs to state that for generations back he has been connected with Cathay by marriage ties, his name figuring in the list of their border vassals. His going to their aid as such has now got him into trouble : he has, in

fact, run his head up against your might, and created the germs of a quarrel. Having thus incurred the blame of opposing Heaven's will, he must naturally expect to suffer the bitterness of defeat. Having now been favoured by your kind message offering to pardon his former offence, also bestowing certain lands in extension of his vassal domain, he can but acknowledge this tolerant attitude, and express his hopeful sense of gratitude. Henceforward in all that concerns new year's congratulations—envoys, tribute, and homage—all will be according to the old forms of duty observed by your servant towards the State of Cathay. The misguided Lord of Cathay is not now within our territory, and if, as suggested, he seek asylum here, he will not be again received, but will be seized and sent to you. If the Great Dynasty know his whereabouts and pursue him with troops, I shall not venture to offer him a refuge and succour, as I did before; and if troops are called for by you, I will do as requested. As to the various foreign countries who may desire to pass through my territories in order to seek audience at the Celestial Court, I will not obstruct them. With regard to the above items, your subject hereby pledges his solemn word for himself and his heirs. Should there be any lapse, let Heaven and Earth take cognizance of it; let the gods chastise it with death, and may the sin of the fathers be visited upon the children, who shall never live to rule."

In the third moon of the same year the Nüchên Emperor Ukimai sent the following reply: "The Emperor bestows a sworn mandate upon K'ien-shun, King of Hia. The late Emperor took upon himself the great charge and proceeded to found this Dynasty. Your State, my Lord, was seised to you in the steppes of Hia, its domains being continuous with Cathay's Right (= west). By reason of aid placed by you at the disposal of an incompetent ruler, you have fallen foul of our royal armies. But his late Majesty held that one who could thus be loyal to his original duty merited the opportunity of retrieving his error, and so,

when the succession devolved upon my unworthy self, I set about putting his last wishes into effect. You, my Lord, deeply conscious of your former error, have cheerfully consented to join us, to prepare tribute, to commission vassal envoys, and to declare yourself our liege. This being so, we bestow on you the effulgence of our favour, as a token of our mutual return to friendship. As touches the cession of territory, diplomatic forms, and the furnishing of mutual aid, in all these matters we will follow the precedents of the late Dynasty. In the matter of responding to any call for your troops, we assent to your proposition. The sun, moon, and stars are witness to our words, and if there be any shiftiness, let it be as in your oath. At this distance we let fall our warning words. Fail not in your loyalty!" It will be noticed that in all Tartar and Tangut correspondence there is a frankness and absence of priggish conceit quite un Chinese.

When the Nüchêns had driven the Cathayans out of Peking, the Sung Dynasty put in a demand for "compensation" in the shape of the Peking plain and the Tenduc region, which parts had been weakly ceded to the Cathayans by several of the five Turko-Chinese Dynasties (904-960) at a time when China was in a state of dissolution; but, once secure in North China, the Nüchêns made short work of both their hasty promises. Tangut and Sung both claimed Tenduc as part of their share of the compensation due, and after the above correspondence the King of Tangut found that the Sung men had actually proceeded to occupy it. He appealed to Ukimai, who replied: "I have acquainted myself with your address, and ordered the Proconsuls of the North-west and South-west to settle the matter as best they can." It seems that the Nüchên envoy to Tangut had, besides this, created difficulties about reception form, and that, owing to the inaccessibility of Tenduc, the Nüchêns had first deducted it from the nine Shan Si cities promised to Sung, giving it instead to Hia, and then had retained it for themselves,

offering Hia instead the north parts of Shen Si, which more naturally fell within Tangut spheres of influence. This arrangement led to bitter reproaches addressed by a Sung General to Hia: "What are things coming to when a traitorous vassal disregards all neighbourly feelings in this way? Every country produces greedy subjects occasionally, but who would have thought that Hia would tread in these contemptible grooves? I have just heard that the Nüchêns" (who had meanwhile taken prisoner the Sung Emperor—1126—and also captured Si-an Fu) "intend to march upon your capital by way of (modern) P'ing-liang. At a moment when you yourselves are in danger, what advantage can there be in kicking a neighbour when he is down? Though I have not many troops under my command, still, they are His Majesty's soldiers, and good at least for one good fight, so do not let us bandy words any more." The Sung historian goes on to say that messengers were then sent to "try and influence" the Tangut General, "and so the Hia men did not come on," from which we may conclude that these "prave 'ords" had less to do with fighting the Tanguts into peace than Chinese gold had in coaxing them.

The Manzi of Marco Polo (*i.e.*, the Sung) had now really and literally become *man-tsz*, or "Southerners," and almost all China north of the Yang-tsze was either ruled by the Nüchêns direct, or by a succession of puppet Chinese adventurer "Emperors" ruling tributary to them as a buffer to Sung. In 1138 the Sung Dynasty made Hangchow (Marco Polo's *Kinsai*) their capital. So early as 1131 a "mandate" had been issued by the Sung court to the effect that "Hia now being a hostile State, no more almanacs need be issued to it." The only bright spot on the Sung horizon was the gallant and quite historical stand made in Sz Ch'wan by the brothers Wu (Wu Kiai and Wu Lin), who, working for twenty or thirty years in the Sung interest, succeeded, by dint of bloody fighting and tireless watchfulness, in keeping the Tartars entirely out of that

province (indeed, it was only in 1206 that Wu Hi, executed for it, for a short time went over to the Nüchên side). It is interesting to note that the line of Nüchên advance from Peking was not only the line taken by the earliest spreaders of Chinese civilization 2,500 years ago, but it was also the direct road taken in the year 1900 by the flying Manchu Court. In 1132 the Sung Dynasty made a series of desperate efforts to reopen communications with Tangut, and a Cathayan named Yelüh Yütu, originally ordered to march west in search of Yelüh Tashih, but who had, instead, conspired to regain possession of the Peking-Tenduc region, took refuge there; allusion will again be made to this incident. Officially, however (if we are to believe the Nüchên records), both Sung and Hia sent annual tribute to the northern Power with great regularity. In 1137 Wu Lin, of Sz Ch'wan, succeeded in obtaining the co-operation of the thirty-eight Tibetan clans then under the leadership of Kuksara's grandson.

In 1139 the King of Tangut died, after an unusually long reign of fifty-four years. His son declined the overtures of Sung, but he was duly patented as King of Hia by the Nüchêns. The vassal position is clearly stated in the Nüchên history: "When Ukimai's ambassador presented the present King's father with the sworn mandate, the King of Hia affected to receive it under old Cathayan conditions. But the ambassador pointed out that the Cathayan relations were those of father-in-law and son-in-law, in consequence of which the King could sit to receive the envoys, who, in their turn, advanced with proper ceremony. But," he went on, "the relations between the Great Golden (*i.e.*, the *Amban Anchun* of recently-deciphered Nüchên inscriptions) and Hia were those of suzerain and vassal, so that in receiving the envoys of the State Above the King should rise." After a struggle which lasted several days the King did consent to rise, but no birthday envoys were ever sent to congratulate him until this occasion, when such envoys were first "bestowed."

In spite of Nüchên bullying, the insinuating Sung diplomacy had managed to obtain the cession from them of South Shen Si and Ho Nan, most of which for a time had been a separate third "Empire" in the hands of a series of Nüchên puppets (Chinese); but the violent Nüchên Emperor Khara soon repented him of this conciliatory action. Not only did he proceed to reconquer the greater part of China north of the River Hwai, but he increased the subsidies annually payable to him by Sung. Both Tangut and the Nüchêns showed a remarkable zeal for Confucianist education at about this period. Khara was murdered in 1149, and Tangut seems to have felt herself strong enough to refuse recognition of the ambassadors sent by his successor Tikunai, and even to ask for explanations touching the murder. In 1152 the Nüchêns showed signs of aiming once more at the conquest of Sz Ch'wan, but the Tanguts, suspecting an attack upon themselves, massed troops in sufficient numbers to foil this ambition. Various attempts were made by his ministers and generals to induce the Manzi Emperor to side openly with Tangut, but in vain.

Now occurs a new and interesting phase, which sheds a bright light upon the diplomacy of the times. In 1160 the Tangut Premier (apparently a Chinese) named Jên Tê-king succeeded in getting the King to confer upon him the rank of Prince, and in 1161 the "blackguardly" Nüchên Emperor Tikunai deprived the Manzi Empire of all territory to the north of the Yang-tsze. Tangut was involved in this struggle, but it does not appear very clearly that she was more than a trimmer for and against whichever rival happened to be for the moment successful. Tikunai himself was murdered, and his successor, the excellent Ulu, seems to have striven for peace all round. The following memorial, presented to him by a Tangut mission in 1164, explains the general situation: "At the moment when our armies were defeated, not fifteen per cent. escaped, apart from those who afterwards died of cold and

starvation. Besides, Hia State, in coming to blows with the Sung men, lost a great many men and beasts in killed or missing. Year after year this warring has really had a fleecing effect upon us ; moreover, our hampered position with regard to Sung is such that we have no adequate opportunity of showing our loyalty to you. We trust, therefore, that you will be considerate, and will modify your demands." Now it was that Jên Tê-king's intrigues began to manifest themselves. In 1167 he sent a diplomat to Sz Ch'wan in order to induce the Sung viceroy Yü Yün-wên (of historical celebrity) to attack the Tibetan tribes. The viceroy replied by a "wax-pill despatch," but, unfortunately, a later "cloth letter" (by which I suppose some part of a shirt is meant) was intercepted by Tanguts loyal to the Nüchêns, to whom the compromising letter was subsequently sent. Meanwhile the Nüchên Emperor Ulu was somewhat puzzled to receive from Tangut confidential complaints about Jên Tê-king's ambition just at the moment when an official letter from the King of Tangut arrived "asking for the loan of some first-class physicians to cure Jên Tê-king's sickness." Ulu thereupon handed a silver *baiza*, or travelling warrant, to a special medical envoy, with the following secret instructions: "If he is really ill, don't try to cure him ; but if his malady looks curable, be back here (Peking) in one month sure." Of course, he got better, and he sent a man (apparently his own brother) with thanks and presents to the Emperor from himself. Ulu observed: "This man Jên Tê-king ought to know his place ; neither his complimentary address nor his presents can be accepted." The Nüchên history now goes on to explain that Jên Tê-king had really in the past done very good service to Tangut for a period of twenty years, by consistently protecting the young King against intriguing cabals, but that now he was being tempted by success, and was playing for his own hand, in such wise that the King was no match for him. In 1170 a suspicious address came from the King, "proposing

to cede the south-west part of his dominions as a separate principality for his Premier, and craving the grant of a separate patent for that individual." Ulu at once consulted his own Premier, who said : " This matter concerns Hia State alone. Why should we meddle? Better do as he wishes." However, Ulu seems to have been an unusually honourable and sagacious man, for he replied : " How can a reigning Prince be supposed to give part of his dominions to another without some good reason for it? There must be something behind all this, and I don't believe it expresses the King of Hia's real wishes. Besides, Hia has declared herself our vassal for many years. Can I, as Lord of the Four Seas, be expected to tolerate the low intrigues of a rascally minister? If the King can't settle the fellow by himself, we must help him with troops to get rid of the man." Accordingly the presents were sent back with the following mandate : " Since our Government conquered the Chinese plains, we have consistently shown tenderness to the western land, and frontier delimitations were arranged with your father. Since this I have bestowed commands upon yourself. Thus grace has followed grace over three decades. You have duly observed what is expected of you as a border vassal, and it is equally your duty to preserve intact the heritage which has come into your hands. In the present instance you ask sanction in a matter which is, to say the least, unusual. I do not know who is responsible for the idea, and it is therefore necessary for me to send envoys to you to institute further inquiry. Meanwhile, the tribute articles are returned." Jên Tê-king, now unmasked, secretly sought assistance from the Sung people, who replied by a " wax-pill despatch," which fell into the hands of the Hia men. Jên Tê-king then took advantage of the departure of an envoy sent to obtain a Nüchên doctor to send presents in his own name ; but the Nüchên Emperor was too sharp for him, and the Tangut King, now well supported, managed to get rid of him and his whole clique (8th moon,



1170). The King then sent an envoy with thanks, and also the Sung prisoner with the original wax-pill despatch taken on or out of him. It is manifest from this Nüchên version, that, although dates, documents, and persons slightly vary in each, the Sung and Tartar accounts agree in the main, and that one and the same set of events is described twice, and occurred between 1168 and 1170. Manzi (Sung) relations with Tangut had practically now ceased, and their information was evidently fitful and uncertain. The King's letter of thanks to Ulu runs: "After Jên Tê-king had first received his separate domain, I sent envoys to the Great Dynasty, asking on his behalf for a patent, but I humbly received a mandate declining the proposal. This is indeed gracious commiseration on the part of the Court, for which Hia State is profoundly grateful. It was really highly improper of Hia to make this blundering proposal on behalf of a rascally minister; but he and his set are now all executed, and the Great Dynasty therefore need not send envoys to make further inquiry. As the land given to him was conterminous with your Hi-Ts'in division (*i.e.*, the upper valley of the Wei river), we have already taken steps to prevent further trouble there on our side, and we beg the Court will do likewise across the frontier on its own side."

In 1141 the Nüchêns had consented to open Customs stations for frontier trade, but in 1172 Ulu observed: "Hia State sends us gems and jade in exchange for our silk and fabrics; in other words, they give us useless things in exchange for what is useful." Accordingly the stations at or near Pao-an and Lan-chou (both still so called) were abolished, or reduced in number. In 1177 the King offered a home-made "hundred-headed tent," but the Emperor declined it on the ground that Hia should send local articles. The King at once rejoined: "The tent is no strange or foreign object, and, besides, the envoy has already reached the frontier with it. Unless you honour us by its acceptance, the profound loyalty of the State Below will have no

means of expressing itself, and other countries will be able to say that Hia State has not the good fortune to share in the Great Dynasty's nourishing love. How, then, shall we feel easy?" Consent was therefore given. Probably this tent resembled Marco Polo's "magnificent tents in which 1,000 knights can dwell." The gems and jade are mentioned by Marco Polo in connection with Cotan (Khoten) and "Pein." Other indications in Chinese history point to a considerable Tangut trade, both by the great Si-an Fu road and by the middle or Sui-têh road to T'ai-yüan Fu, and the Tangut envoys themselves were allowed to trade.

An exceedingly interesting event was reported to Sung by some Chinese spies in 1186. They said that Yelüh Tashih (the Cathayan Prince who had fled west in 1124 to found the Empire of the Kara-Kitans) had been trying to "borrow a road" through Tangut, in order to attack the Nüchêns. Wu T'ing (another of the distinguished Sz Ch'wan brothers already mentioned) was instructed by the Sung Emperor to form an alliance with Hia State, by way of assisting the enterprising Cathayans' advance. Unfortunately, many of the records for the next few years perished in the wars which broke out, first between the Nüchêns and the Manzi, and later between both and Genghiz Khan, so that "it has never been recorded in history what was the outcome of the Yelüh Tashih deliberations." Probably the loss of records deprives us in this instance of no great light, for the said founder of the Kara-Kitan Dynasty had been already dead for fifty years (d. 1136); still, he really did on one occasion march his armies back, under the Cathayan General, Siao Orla, as far as the Tangut frontier, and the Yelüh Yütu already named, who turned traitor in 1132, had been originally sent by the Nüchêns to organize a hunt for his kinsman, Yelüh Tashih, in the Far West. Moreover, the latter's grandson, Silugu (1168-1203), was still reigning at Guz Ordo, near Issyk-kul, so that the Chinese mothers may well have frightened their babies in 1186 with the

habitual saying: "De kozakken mogen U halen," as the Dutch mothers did long after the Moscow campaign.

A demise of the Tangut Crown is recorded by both Nüchên and Sung historians in 1193, as also the dethronement in 1206 of the King by his cousin, the last of the really effective Tangut monarchs. Relations with Manzi seem to have now entirely ceased, but Tangut foolishly took advantage of Genghiz Khan's menacing attitude towards the Northern Empire to force the Nüchên hand also. The Tangut usurper's envoy to the Nüchên capital "secretly asked the officials in attendance at his hotel whether the Emperor was going to approve the succession." The official in charge said: "You ought not to ask me such a question as that." The envoy replied: "To-morrow I shall ask this question at the Foreign Office, and if I do not receive a reply, I shall mount the steps of the throne and put the same question direct to his Majesty" (Matako), "in consequence of which threat a patent to the King of Hia was at once issued." But it was too late. In 1206 Temudjin was proclaimed as Genghiz Khan on the Onon River, and had already sworn vengeance against the Nüchêns for putting his relative, Khanbukhai Khan, to death. He accordingly first made for his enemy's vassal, Tangut, and captured in the autumn of 1207 the city of "Wei-la-k'a." Palladius tells us not to confuse Marco Polo's Egrigaia or Erigaia (Ning-hia) with a fortress called Ura-hai, situated in the Alashan Mountains, a little to the west. However, I take this Wei-la-k'a to be Erigaia. Genghiz, in the spring of 1208, "returned from Si Hia, and made for a summer retreat" (named). In the spring of 1209 the Ouigours (who had in 1124 received Yelü Tashih so kindly, and had remained vassals to his Dynasty ever since), offered their assistance to Genghiz, whose fixed aim was still to get at his enemies, the Nüchêns, by way of Tangut. The above-mentioned usurping Tangut cousin at once sent his son with an army to oppose Genghiz, who promptly defeated the Tanguts

and captured their city of U-liang-hai (which I take to be Urahai). All this comes from Mongol history. Then he fought a second battle with the Tangut General, Wei-ming (the Ngwei-ming of other histories), laid siege to Chung-hing Fu (in 1288 made Ning-hia Fu by Kublai), and unsuccessfully tried to flood the city by letting the Yellow River into it; but his engineering arrangements were so defective that he seems to have nearly drowned his own army instead. However, he managed to negotiate a little later on to the extent of securing a Tangut Princess as one of his wives, and an "application for peace" from the King. These stirring events are not mentioned in either the Nüchên or Manzi history; in fact, I do not observe that Palladius, Bretschneider, or any other European author has cited them, and perhaps they appear here in English dress for the first time.

The King of Tangut died in 1211, and was succeeded by a second cousin, or one standing to him in the degree of nephew. The Sung history says he had had a son of his own named Ch'êng-chên, and therefore it is fairly safe to assume that the son mentioned in Mongol history as fighting against Genghiz was killed, and was, in fact, the Ch'êng-chên of Sung histories. The Chinese, who have already admitted the defects of their own Manzi annals, simply say: "In the year 1212 of the Nüchên calendar (? they) patented him King of Hia." On the other hand, the Nüchên history here repeats what I have already stated on their historian's authority (April number *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, p. 13): "The records for these few years are so defective that we do not quite know exactly when, why, and how this Tangut demise of the Crown took place." However, the Nüchên records state distinctly that "in 1211 the Tanguts took advantage of our defeats to plunder our frontiers, whilst continuing to exchange friendly missions with us." The Chinese (Sung) history says that in 1214 "a high Tangut official sent two priests with a wax-pill despatch, proposing a joint attack on the Nüchêns, but the local Governor

declined the offer." On the other hand, the Nüchên history says: "In the 8th moon of 1214 an informal Tangut letter came complaining of our border attacks." The Emperor was about to take the necessary steps to forbid them, when his ministers said: "It is not a formal document, and any reply will only encourage prevarication and nagging, leading to no useful result." So nothing was done.

The Nüchêns meanwhile had abandoned Peking, and were now in full flight to K'ai-fêng Fu. As there were rumours that they might elect to make Si-an Fu their new capital, the Tanguts, in self-defence, massed troops on their own frontiers, and once more proposed to the semi-independent Sz Ch'wan Government a joint attack upon the Nüchêns. During 1215-16 there was continual fighting on the Tangut-Nüchên frontiers (Shen Si), but at last news came that China was really joining Hia, and although China, as a matter of fact, took no very active part in that particular struggle, the other two combatants spent the year 1217 in watching for opportunities, and "sitting on hedges."

In the spring of 1218 the Tanguts "craved peace," and Nüchên spies reported that the King really seemed to be in earnest about it this time. And there was an excellent reason, though both Nüchêns and Manzi were evidently in blissful ignorance of it. The Mongol history says that in 1218 Genghiz Khan "declared war against West Hia, and surrounded the royal city. The Lord of Hia" (some personal name, as in the other histories) "fled to West Liang" (Erguiul). The Nüchên annals confirm this: the only curious thing about the confirmation is that exactly at this moment (spring, 1218) the Nüchên officers of the field, who must have been ignorant of the Tangut King's flight, reported that "the Tangut application for peace in our opinion really comes from the King, for his officials durst scarcely propose it on their own initiative." Fighting went on without intermission until 1222, when the presence of the King is again mentioned, so that he could not have

fled and kept away for a very long time after he had suffered the Mongol defeat; in fact, by 1219 Genghiz was already well past Otrar on his way to Tashkend and Bokhara. A serious difference of opinion arose in 1222 between the Tangut King and his heir, who entirely objected to continuing the Nüchên war, and even resigned his rights of succession when rated by his father. In 1222, according to Mongol history, a Nüchên envoy, named Ukusun, met Genghiz in Ouigour land, when on his return from the Pamirs to the East, and sued for peace. Genghiz said: "I asked your master before to cede to me the Ordos regions, himself taking the title of 'King south of the River,' but he would not. Now that my Generals have taken it, what's the use of your coming?" The envoy, however, begged very hard, so Genghiz at last said: "Well, as you've come so far, and I have already got the Loop region in my possession, you must cede to me all places west of the Pass" (*i.e.*, where Ho Nan joins Shan Si and Shen Si), "and your master can be King of Ho Nan; it is your last chance." The Nüchên history carefully avoids mention of this humiliating scene, though it accurately relates the Mongol advance into Shen Si. It goes on to say that in 1223 the Mongols "demanded satisfaction" from Tangut, and that some local Nüchên Generals were inclined to take advantage of this to press their own attack; but, as they "neglected their military duties in order to feast and drink," the Tanguts not only defeated them, but took immense booty into the bargain. This year the King abdicated to a son—not the one who had resigned in a huff—and he himself died in 1226, as also did his said son and successor. The Nüchên history says: "The name of this successor's successor is not recorded, and next year Hia State ceased to exist." But the Chinese history says: "The son of the second-class Prince Nan-p'ing, by name Hien, next occupied the throne; but in the autumn of 1227 he was captured by the Mongols, and his State ceased to exist." The Mongol account is as follows:

"At the beginning of his twenty-first year (1226) Genghiz proceeded in person against West Hia as a punishment for harbouring our enemy (named), and for not sending us hostages. In the second moon he captured Blackwater City (mentioned in Sung history), and the Hunch'u Hills, where the King used to go to avoid the summer heat; also the various districts of Kansuh (perhaps the first historical use of the word strictly as a province). In the autumn he took Cholo-hara and other townships in Si-liang (Erguiul); then he traversed the desert to the Yellow River, which he crossed, etc. . . . In the eleventh moon he attacked Ling Chou; Hia sent the General Wei-ming (the same one as that mentioned in 1224) to the rescue, but the Emperor recrossed the Yellow River, and defeated the Tanguts. . . . In the first moon of the twenty-second year (1227) the Hia King Li Hien surrendered."

Genghiz died a few weeks after this event, and I cannot find that, up to the date of his death, the word "Tangut" ever once occurs in any Chinese dynastic history; Hia State and West Hia are the only names used by T'ang, Cathay, the Nüchêns, Sung, and Mongols alike. True, in 1175 and 1195 the Nüchêns mention a Tang-ku tribe, but, from what is said of it in their chapters on "Armies" and "Finance," it seems to be a Kitan tribe, or Tungusic clan far to the north-east. The same Tang-ku tribe was among those whose chiefs were harangued in 1124 by Yelüh Tashih, far away north from Tangut. The first mention of T'ang-u(t) is in 1268, when Kublai excludes Nüchêns, Kitans and Chinese, but admits Mussulmans, Ouigours, Naimans, and "Tangut men" to governorships (*darugachi*). In 1287 a Tangut military circuit is mentioned, and sheep and grain are presented to the Tangut troops serving under General Asha; these Tangut troops are spoken of again in 1297. In 1340 Tangut guards are enumerated with Russian guards. But both before and after these dates, Si Hia (West Hia) is the sole name used in Mongol history for the Tangut State or, later, province.

As to the ultimate fate of the Tangut King, the Mongol history tells us that General Adjulu was the man who "fought the great battle at Hala-hachar." "West Hia being very hard pressed, their lord was afraid and begged to surrender. He was seized and brought before T'ai-tsung (Ogdai), who killed him." Palladius seems to think that Marco Polo's "capital city called Calachan" is the "summer residence of the Tangut Kings, twenty miles from Ning-hia at the foot of the Alashan mountains (written Holanshan by the Chinese)." We have seen that this summer residence was destroyed in 1226. Palladius thinks the Alashai *nuntuh* (=Alashan *ordo*) of the Mongol Chronicles, and the Hala-hachar of the Tangut Chronicles (in Chinese, which I have not seen), refer to one and the same place, and that the word "Halachachar" is a Tangut word. Any way, I have shown that the Chinese history of the Mongol Dynasty uses the five syllables, *ha-la-ha-ch'a-r*, and that the battle fought there was the same battle as that of the "Hun-ch'u Hills."



## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

AT a meeting of the East India Association held on Monday, May 6, 1901, at the Westminster Town Hall, a paper was read by J. D. Rees, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., retired, on "Famine Facts and Fancies," Sir Charles Elliott, K.C.S.I., in the chair. The following, among others, were present: Lord Clifford, Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., Sir A. Lyall, G.C.I.E., K.C.B., Sir J. B. Lyall, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Juland Danvers, K.C.S.I., Lady Elliott, Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., Mr. A. Cadell, C.S.I., Mr. J. H. Garstin, C.I.E., Mr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I., Colonel Van Someren, Lieut.-Colonel A. T. Wintle, R.A., Dr. Sarat Mullick, Mrs. Aublet, Mrs. C. W. Arathoon and Miss F. Arathoon, Mr. Clifford Beckett, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. S. M. Chitnavis, Mrs. Clurry, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. A. Das, Mr. M. L. Dhingra, Mr. A. M. Florence, Mr. F. W. Fox, Mr. J. Louis, Mr. C. J. Master, Mr. Alec McMillan, Mr. Henry J. Millner, Mr. T. E. Morris, Mr. Musenden, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. Alexander Rogers, Mrs. T. Sperati, Mrs. Sevier, Mr. R. Sewell, M.R.A.S., F.R.G.S., Mr. B. P. Standen, Mr. Danford Thomas, Mr. S. S. Thorburn, Mr. N. B. Wagle, Miss Webster, Mr. H. W. Wolff, Mr. W. Martin Wood, Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN, in introducing the lecturer, reminded those present that he has held high office under the Government of India, first in the Madras Presidency, and afterwards as member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council. Mr. Rees has had a great deal of experience in famines, and had made journeys to the Central Provinces in 1897, and last year to the Central Provinces and Bombay, to see how famine work was going on. The experience he had gained was sufficient to justify him in giving them the result of the knowledge he has acquired on the subject.

The paper was then read.\*

The CHAIRMAN said Mr. Rees had touched subjects which tended in some hands to be ponderous and dreary in a very light and artistic way. His sympathies were excited at once by the description of the manner in which Mr. Rees, when standing for the London County Council, had been received at Camberwell. He had had exactly the same experience at Whitechapel. He could testify to the profound ignorance as to the existing state of things connected with the Government of India, and the strange tendency of the English mind to think ill of a brother Englishman when in a foreign country. Mr. Rees had told them a good many of the fallacies about Indian famines; but there would probably not be much discussion on the subject, for he fancied that the professors of most of those fallacies would not be present on that occasion. There was one fallacy which might, however, be represented there, as it was voiced by men of high position and much Indian experience, namely, the view that famine and

\* See paper elsewhere in this Review.

the poverty of the people were due to the land assessment. The chief promulgator of this doctrine was a gentleman who had only served in Bengal, where less was known than in other provinces about the principles on which the assessment was based. He could not think that those who had studied the subject would have been much influenced by the arguments brought forward. He could quite bear out the statement of the lecturer that in many parts of the country an extremely light assessment was only a proof of the extreme poverty of the soil and of the people, while a high assessment was always connected with the existence of rich soil and security against drought, which were the two essential qualities required to prevent people from falling into that state of poverty in which they had no reserves to fall back upon when famine occurred. He did not agree with Mr. Rees in his reference to the inadvisability of India receiving charitable contributions from England and the Colonies. Mr. Rees had said with truth that even if England had given a contribution of five millions it could not have saved a single life, because the whole powers of the Indian Government were expended lavishly and without restriction on the saving of life. But there was a distinct field which charity of this kind could fill, and which it was at least doubtful whether the Government should carry out at the expense of the taxation of the Indian people; he meant the restoration of the peasant at the end of a famine to his ante-famine condition, one of the most important and desirable of objects. It was questionable whether in a country so poor as a whole as India taxation could justifiably be directed to that object. Advances no doubt were made by Government for the buying of bullocks and seed and the restoring of houses, but always as a loan. How much greater benefit it was to the unfortunate cultivator to receive the money as a gift, and to be able to start again restored, as far as possible, to the condition in which he was before the famine. He trusted that Mr. Rees would reconsider his views on the subject, and he felt sure that when he came to that post he so well deserved to fill, of Viceroy of India, when there was a famine to be managed he would not reject the charitable subscriptions which no doubt would be offered to him.

MR. THORBURN thought the information they had received was so comprehensive, and contained so many acceptable truths, that there was little room for useful discussion. Mr. Rees's address was open to one general criticism: it left them at the end very much as they were at the beginning. It told them that in famine times the Government of India did its duty, which they all knew, but it did not suggest any but the vaguest means for mitigating the intensity of future famines. Some passages gave him the impression that Mr. Rees was holding a brief for the Government of India. He was very optimistic, deprecatory, and apologetic. For instance, he had said that even in the worst famines there was plenty of grain in India. The pity of it was that the grain was all locked up in the store-houses of the capitalists, who kept it until the famine became intensified, and then sold it. That was a proof that the economic condition of India was unsound. Another point, and one on which he disagreed with Mr. Rees, was the statement that the term "famine" in an unduly extended sense

had come to stay. Mr. Rees had said that tracts in which every degree of scarcity existed were now all classed as famine tracts. In point of fact, both the code and the Government of India were very particular in differentiating between what was famine and what was scarcity. After explaining the difference, Mr. Thorburn said, as to Mr. Rees's main contention, all fair-minded men must admit that the Government of India did the best possible to save life in famine times—the best possible, that is, compatible with the fact that every rupee spent in feeding the starving had to be extracted from persons frequently on the verge of starvation themselves. The points on which a useful discussion could proceed were, he thought, not with reference to the action of the Government during a famine. The real questions were, Why were all the Indians so self-helpless? and What could Government do to make them self-helpful? If they accepted four propositions which he would now give them, they would, he hoped, be able to answer those questions. The first was, out of 300,000,000 of Indians, fully 10 per cent., even in normal times, for two or three months in the year were so poor that they were under-nourished; secondly, our Land Revenue Assessments, though very much lighter than those of any Government which preceded ours, were collected on fixed dates, crop or no crop, from people who lived from hand to mouth, consequently whenever the crops failed, or had been mortgaged to the money-lenders, the agriculturists had to borrow to pay the Land Revenue; thirdly, "our system" both of Land Revenue and civil justice was so hard, mechanical, and inconsiderate of the poor masses, that it caused indebtedness, and the passing of the assets of the poor into the hands of the money-lenders. The fourth proposition was that that system had destroyed the ancient village communities of India; it had expatriated millions of the old peasantry and yeoman proprietors of the country, and had impoverished something like 100,000,000 of the people. The reasonable deduction from these facts was that unless the Government of India so elasticized its Land Revenue system as to proportion the demand of each season to that season's out-turn, and so amended its civil justice system as to adapt it to the needs and intelligences of the poor, the pauperization of the Indians would continue, and in future famines the time would come when the numbers requiring relief would be so great that the Government would not be able to save life.

MR. ALEC McMILLAN (late of the North-Western Province Civil Service) said that the title of Mr. Rees's paper, "Famine Facts and Fancies," reminded one of Coleridge's "Fire, Famine, and Slaughter," although the poet contented himself with two capital F's, while Mr. Rees rejoiced in three. In this connection it was worth while to remember that just as Coleridge in his Sibylline rhapsody represented Fire, Famine, and Slaughter as the emissaries of Pitt, there were some reasoners (if reasoners they could be called) who did their best to lay the blame of Indian famines at the door of the British Government. A book had recently been published, entitled "Open Letters to Lord Curzon on Famines and Land Assessments in India." The author was a retired member of the Indian Civil Service and a native of India. Feeling conscious of an inward call

to teach the Viceroy of India a thing or two, he sat down and penned a series of "open letters" to His Excellency, and then proceeded to put them into print for the edification of the British public at large. It was gratifying to find an admission in these didactic epistles that Indian famines "were directly caused by the failure of the annual rains, over which man has no control." The writer thought, however, that the intensity and frequency of recent famines were "greatly due to the resourceless condition and the chronic poverty of the cultivators, caused by the over-assessment of the soil on which they depend for their living." Of this proposition there was nothing like adequate proof in the "letters." It was quite evident that their author was blind to many of the facts, and unacquainted with many of the considerations, that had a material bearing on the questions with which he attempted to deal. He committed himself to the astounding assertion that the peasantry of India "are the most frugal and the most provident of all races of peasantry on earth." While tolerably satisfied with the existing land assessments in Bengal and Northern India, he was of opinion that the Central Provinces, Madras and Bombay were cruelly over-assessed. The facts and figures he adduced in support of his conclusions were ridiculously meagre, and in many cases wholly irrelevant. He appeared to be under the delusion that there was a fixed relation between the value of the gross produce of land and its rent-paying capacity, failing to bear in mind that the cost of production, as well as the gross value of the produce, is a cardinal factor to be taken into account. And he seemed to regard the unsifted statements of Indian ryots as satisfactory evidence of matters which they have an interest in misrepresenting, and are very prone to misrepresent. The following was perhaps the only one of the letter-writer's utterances to which it was possible to give unqualified assent: "I do not claim to have placed any new facts before the Government; on the contrary, the Government has undoubtedly many sources of information not available to me, and a comprehensive and minute knowledge of many facts and figures not known to me." But this being so, it was somewhat unreasonable to expect Lord Curzon and the British public to take the trouble to read the "Open Letters." The book, however, was of very great value, if not for its intended purpose, at any rate as showing how poor was the array of facts and arguments that "agin the Government" partizans were able to adduce in support of their attacks on the administration of revenue matters in India. The last speaker had stated that the natives of India were becoming more pauperized than they were in former days. There was room for doubt as to the accuracy of this statement. At the same time, there could be no doubt that the Indian masses had ways and customs which contributed to the increase of pauperization. For instance, the marrying of boys of eight or ten as a matter of course, without any consideration of the question whether they would ever be in a position to support a family. Legislation to put a stop to improvident matrimonial usages of this sort was impracticable. The truth was that the British Government, in attempting to deal with the poverty of the Indian masses, had to grapple with what was, from some points of view, a scarcely soluble problem.

SIR CHARLES LYALL, though not feeling able to add anything useful to the discussion, could only express the admiration with which he had watched the work of the staff of the province with which he was formerly connected, and congratulated them on the high success which they had achieved in dealing with the famine of 1900.

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN agreed in the view expressed by the chairman as to the extreme use of charitable contributions during the famine. When in the House of Commons he proposed a Parliamentary grant of five millions, not intended to be added to the Indian revenues, but to be placed at the personal disposal of the Viceroy in supplementing charitable relief sent which had proved insufficient. A good deal that the lecturer had said was really in support of the suggestion of a Famine Union. There was great need for careful inquiry as to the economic condition of the cultivators of India, especially because opinions differed so greatly regarding it. Mr. Thorburn had referred to village inquiries in the Punjab made on very much the lines which he, Sir William Wedderburn, advocated. He believed that the facts then ascertained had been made the basis of legislation. The village community was the unit of India, and his suggestion was that typical villages should be selected in the different famine provinces, that the causes of the difficulties of the cultivators should be carefully traced, and that those villages should then be handed to competent administrators to bring them back into a condition of prosperity. He did not desire, in forming a union in this country, to take the matter out of the hands of the Government of India, but in this country there were many men who had retired from the Service whose experience and leisure could be utilized to assist the Government. The initiative of many of the best measures in India had been taken by public opinion in this country—for example, the whole educational policy. These famines were not of food, but of poverty. Even in the worst districts, and at the worst times, there had been food enough, but it was in the hands of grain-dealers, and not in the houses of the peasantry. What we wanted to know was, why the cultivator was unable to purchase the food which was in abundance at his door.

MR. N. B. WAGLE said that it was not only in Madras and the Central Provinces that Mr. Rees was well known, but people in Bombay took a keen interest in all the speeches of Mr. Rees, whether in the Viceroyal Council or outside. He, for one, always looked on Mr. Rees as a man of original thought and independent opinions, but to-day, after hearing the paper and the discussion that had followed, he was much disappointed. He was disappointed for two reasons. Firstly, he regretted that a discussion on such an important subject as the famine, which affects the lives of so many millions of the Indian people, should be argued as if it was a contest between the Government and the people. There could not be two opinions as to the most creditable and public-spirited way in which the officials of the Government of India discharged their onerous duties in the days of famine, at the sacrifice of not only their health, but sometimes even their money. The point to be argued that afternoon was whether the existing system could be improved, or, in other words, whether the valuable

energies of the officials in India could be better utilized than they had been done at present. In a discussion of that sort the Government and the people must join together in a friendly spirit towards each other, in order to get at a proper solution of the question.

He was also disappointed to find that Mr. Rees had only revived all the fallacies of old, which have been thoroughly investigated, refuted, and forgotten; and he had not succeeded in carrying the subject of discussion any further than where it was before. It was as inaccurate and misleading to talk of the increasing wealth of India as to call a failure of monsoons a famine. It was said that the periodical failure of rain was the cause of famine. In his opinion, a failure of rain could only produce a scarcity of food supply, but such scarcity should not, and did not, necessarily result in famine. If that was so, England must be suffering from a perpetual famine. Though there was scarcity of food supply in Great Britain, people had money enough to buy additional supplies from foreign countries—a fact which prevented the condition of famine. The inability of the people of India to buy their food, or, in other words, their fearful poverty, was the real cause of famine. And for that reason the prevention of famines lay in remedying the poverty of the people.

As regards the land tax, which Mr. Rees contended did not exceed one-sixth of the produce of the land, he had not at present sufficient materials to contradict the statement; but he could give many instances where people owning a thousand or two thousand acres of land could hardly succeed in supporting a family of ten or fifteen people in a respectable manner. He was sorry he had not sufficient time that afternoon to enter fully into that question.

MR. MARTIN WOOD thought Mr. Rees's address was of a kind which always pleased English audiences. He found everything very delightful and pleasant, and in this he reminded him of Mark Tapley. One would suppose from Mr. Rees's paper that there was nothing worth mentioning in the way of famine—only a few relief operations, and so on. But, after all, there had been a good deal of famine in India, and Lord Curzon and the *Standard's* Simla correspondent bore testimony to its extent.

MR. REES, in replying to the various criticisms which had been made, referred first to Sir Charles Elliott and Sir William Wedderburn's observations with regard to the Mansion House Relief Fund. He (Mr. Rees) had not meant to say that those funds were not of the greatest assistance, but were most welcome for purposes to which the revenues collected from the poor taxpayer could not be properly applied. He only regretted the serious misunderstanding to which he had referred. Mr. Thorburn had said that he had not suggested any means of mitigating the intensity of famines, but he had pointed to the further industrial development of the country, the absence of any interference with the labour systems, and other matters. He had been spoken of as very optimistic, and perhaps if a speaker had to make a selection out of a paper, he did put forward that which was the most pleasant; but those who read his paper would see that it was not by any means conceived in an optimistic strain. The locking up of the grain at the time of famine had been referred to, but it was

Indian and not English capitalists who locked it up. It would be seen he had said in his paper that he could not see why something like the shilling a ton on coal should not be put on the export of food grains in the time of famine over and above the present rice export duty. He deprecated the use of the word "famine" on all occasions, and the numbers affected had been largely increased by adding tracts in which 1 per cent. of the population only were on relief. It was a mistake to describe that as a famine tract. Then Mr. Thorburn had said, "We all know that the Government of India and its officers have done their duty." But was that so? In that room they did, but elsewhere they did not; it was by no means universally admitted that that was so, and he had expressly safeguarded himself against preaching only to the converted. Mr. Thorburn had said that out of 300,000,000 inhabitants of India 10 per cent. were under-nourished. He did not know his authority for that. He was afraid that, as one who had travelled a great deal in India as an official, a private individual, and as a sportsman, he could not accept that statement. No doubt, however, the agricultural population was hard pressed between monsoons, if crops had failed but once. When Mr. Thorburn said that our system of collection was too rigid, and that that was a matter which needed amendment, he quite agreed with him, and had said so in his paper, of much of which he had no time to speak. He agreed with Sir William Wedderburn that all their administration in India should have the village in view more than the town. He could not, however agree with Mr. Thorburn when he said that we had destroyed the village communities, and had pauperized a hundred millions of people. That remark could not refer to the Punjab, because it did not contain a hundred millions of people; and in some provinces something had been done to preserve those communities. He did not agree with Mr. McMillan that the native of India was improvident. On the contrary, he believed him to be an extremely provident and estimable person. Sir Charles Lyall had referred to his satisfaction with what had been said about the administration of the Central Provinces. He (Mr. Rees) thought it would be very gratifying to all those officers to hear what Sir Charles had said, for he was held among them in the most affectionate recollection. Sir William Wedderburn, referring to the Parliamentary grant, said that what he proposed was a grant to the Viceroy for expenditure in the same way as the famine relief fund. His (Mr. Rees's) point, however, was that it was a grant out of English taxes, and therefore what he had said held good. Sir William had said that statistical village inquiries were made in the Punjab, which were of great value. That he knew to be the case, but he had also seen very bad use made of these statistics. He had seen it put forward that a native of India could not be fed under Rs. 30 a year, and he asked whether it really cost so much. Sir William had referred to his proposed union, and wished to have those villages in which the statistics were to be gathered managed by chosen administrators until they reached a higher pitch of commercial prosperity. He heartily wished that that might be brought about, but he could not help remarking that it seemed to him a difficult and almost impossible matter to isolate a few villages,

like the happy valley of Rasselas, and to deal with them like a watertight compartment having no connection with the surrounding country. Sir William had remarked that many reforms had been due to the initiative of persons outside the Government. With this he heartily agreed, and the fact had been referred to in the paper on the Madras Presidency recently read by him before the Society of Arts. Mr. Wagle spoke of 2,000 acres which would not support ten people. All he could say was he had not heard anything so bad as that yet. Mr. Martin Wood seemed to have thoroughly misunderstood him, and he could only hope that he would do him the honour to read his paper when published, when he thought that he would probably address his criticisms to quarters in which they would be more relevant. He was grateful to the gentlemen who had spoken, and he believed that when they read his paper they would find that he had not been over optimistic, dogmatic, or prejudiced, and that he had perhaps not been able to convey a fair impression of all he had written and had had time to speak.

COLONEL VAN SOMEREN desired to ask a question. The lecturer, towards the close, had told them his opinion was that the Government of India should interfere as little as possible, and especially with scientific administration. He would be very glad to know what was in the mind of the lecturer with regard to that, and whether there was any possibility, within certain definite limitations, of getting back to the old village constitution. Perhaps Mr. Rees might take the matter up, and speak about it at a future meeting.

DR. S. MULLICK would not trespass on the patience of the meeting further than to say that he desired to thank Mr. Rees for the very interesting paper he had read. As one of the 280,000,000 of India, he desired to say he echoed to the full every word of praise that had been uttered as to the Viceregal Council, and thanked the Government for all that they had done. Of course, it was not possible for anyone to be perfect, but taking into account everything, they had done very well. He hoped Mr. Rees would live long enough to see his principle of introducing more Indians into the Government service carried into practice.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN said there remained for him the pleasant duty of asking them to pass a vote of thanks to the lecturer for his exceedingly interesting paper. A good deal of the criticism directed against his paper would be removed when they had the opportunity of reading the whole of it. Many of the criticisms had been, he thought, successfully met in the paper itself. The paper was not intended to cover the whole ground of Indian famines, or to probe all the causes of them, but to deal with some fallacies and facts. It was merely a suggestive paper, intended to show that there was more than one side to so great a subject. He congratulated Mr. Rees heartily on the first paper which he had done them the honour to read before their society, and he was sure they would join him in expressing the hope that it would not be the last. (Applause.) The vote was carried unanimously.

The proceedings then terminated.



## CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

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 THE NEW PROVINCE OF THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER  
OF INDIA.

PAPERS have been laid before Parliament regarding our relations with the neighbouring tribes of the north-west frontier and Punjab frontier administration. These papers contain despatches and other communications from October, 1897, to the present time, and in particular the important minute of the Viceroy of August 27, 1900. This document contains a history of past attempts regarding administration, the possible forms of a new administration, and the form of administration now recommended and adopted. After a careful investigation of the whole subject, Lord Curzon gives his opinion as follows :

Par. 28. "I venture to affirm that there is not another country or Government in the world which adopts a system so irrational in theory, so bizarre in practice, as to interpose between its Foreign Minister and his most important sphere of activity, the barrier, not of a subordinate official, but of a subordinate Government, on the mere geographical plea that the latter resides in closer proximity to the scene of action, a plea which itself breaks down when it is remembered that for five months in the year the Supreme and the Local Governments are both located at the same spot, Simla."

He then discusses the action of the past Lieutenant-Governors and officials, and observes :

Par. 34. "Such being the character of the agency through which the Government of India is at present required to carry out its frontier policy, I next ask what are the main features and results of this system as a working scheme. I do not hesitate to say that they are departmental irresolution, the dissipation instead of the concentration of responsibility, and long and injurious delays.

Some of these consequences are inseparable from the system ; others have grown up as accretions upon it."

After a minute examination, he concludes this portion of the minute in these words :

Par. 39. "For the reasons, therefore, which have been given, I hold the existing system by which the frontier is managed through the medium of the Punjab Government to stand condemned. It has been reprobated by all the greatest Frontier authorities for the last quarter of a century. It attenuates without diminishing the ultimate responsibility of the Government of India." It protracts without strengthening their action. It interposes between the Foreign Minister of India and his subordinate agents—not an Ambassador, or a Minister, or a Consul, but the elaborate mechanism of a Local Government, and the necessarily exalted personality of a Lieutenant-Governor. If this is an influential, I have yet shown it in practice to be not an expert medium. Worked, as the system has been, with unflinching loyalty, and with profound devotion to duty, it has yet been the source of friction, of divided counsels, of vacillation, of exaggerated centralization, of interminable delay. Whether it has presented to the Government of India a cautious and continuous Frontier policy ; whether it has saved India from Frontier expeditions and wars ; whether, however imperfect as an administrative machine, it has produced meritorious political results, are questions which an appeal to history will easily settle."

The minute then proceeds :

Par. 48. "The province which I would propose to constitute would consist, with a slight exception, of the whole of the Trans-Indus districts of the Punjab as far south as, and including, Dera Ismail Khan. The exception (subject to the approval of the Punjab Government) would be the Mianwali Sub-division of the Bannu district, which is astride the Indus, the trans-riverain *tahsil* of Isa Khel being inhabited by non-Pushtu-speaking Pathans, and having little or no connection with the Frontier. The

Cis-Indus portions of Dera Ismail Khan, which exceed in size, and are approximately equal in population to, the Trans-Indus Districts, would be left to the Punjab Government. It might also be a matter of discussion with that Government whether any, and if so what, portions of the Trans-Indus *tahsils* of Dera Ismail Khan should similarly be excluded from my scheme. There are three such *tahsils*, those of Tank, Kulachi, and Dera Ismail Khan. The first of these is a purely Frontier district, and must in any case be detached. The two others contain a mixed population, and it is possible that some division of them between the old and the new administrations may be found desirable or necessary, although a sentimental value may attach to the inclusion of the capital city, Dera Ismail Khan, in the new agency. I would also leave Dera Ghazi Khan to the Punjab—it could be grouped in a single charge with Multan—in the main because its frontier relations arise out of contact, not with Pathans, but with Baluchis, and because I should prefer that the new administration should as far as possible be concerned with the former. It has sometimes been argued that Dera Ghazi Khan should preferably, by reason of its Baluchi connections, be handed over to Baluchistan. This may, perhaps, be its ultimate destination. But for the present, and as long as there is no Trans-Indus railway communication in this part, I think that Quetta and the Agent to the Governor-General for Baluchistan are too far away, and that it would be better not to sever the old-established connection with the Punjab.”

Par. 49. “Passing to the northern confines of the proposed province, I would make it strictly Trans-Indus—*i.e.*, I would not take away from the Punjab the Hazara District, with its administrative centre of Abbotabad, even though this be a Frontier District. Its interests are very different from those of the north-west border, as commonly understood; its inhabitants are of different origin, and the Kaghan valley, which is its main northern prolongation, is now thoroughly pacified.”

Par. 50. "It would be a matter for consideration whether the Black Mountain tribes, which are Cis-Indus, should continue as now to be managed by the Deputy Commissioner of Hazara under the Punjab Government, or should pass with their Trans-Indus neighbours, the Bunerwals and the tribes of the Mahabun, to the charge of the Political Officer at the Malakand. Expediency should be the test of this decision."

Par. 51. "The Mohmands and any other tribes who are now under the Deputy Commissioner of Peshawar should probably, with the exception of those who may be handed over to the Political Officer at the Malakand, be added to the charge of the Political Officer in the Khyber."

Par. 52. "The new Frontier Province would then consist of the following Trans-Indus Districts of the Punjab: (1) Peshawar, (2) Kohat, (3) Bannu, (4) Dera Ismail Khan; and of the following Political Agencies, at present either directly under the Government of India or under the Punjab Government: (1) Dir, Swat, and Chitral, with headquarters at the Malakand, (2) Khyber, (3) Kurram, (4) Tochi, (5) Wana."

Par. 53. "The chief of this administration would be a Chief Commissioner and Agent to the Governor-General, who would be appointed by, and should be directly subordinate to, the Government of India. His position would be closely analogous to that of the Chief Commissioner and Agent to the Governor-General in Baluchistan—*i.e.*, he would possess some of the powers of a local administration, and his pay would probably be on the same scale—*i.e.*, Rs. 4,000 a month. He would reside at Peshawar, where he would take over the office of the present Commissioner. He would probably require the services of two assistants. The judicial and revenue work of so populous, and, in some respects, highly organized, a province would doubtless render it impossible to combine the supreme charge of both functions, as in Baluchistan, in the hands of a single Revenue and Judicial Commissioner. A Judicial

Commissioner and a Revenue Commissioner would both be required. If the former is to take the place of the Chief Court as the supreme appellate tribunal for the new province, he should clearly be a man of high legal attainments and independent position. There are some who may deprecate the substitution of a more simple system for the complex paraphernalia of the Chief Court, and the amenities of facile litigation. I am not in agreement with them. I know of no vice which is more fatal in a Frontier district than litigiousness, and I should prefer summarily to arrest, rather than to foster, its growth."

"I have now examined and argued the various objections that have been raised in times past to proposals similar to that which I now make, or that may be raised to mine. I trust that I have shown them to be not only much less formidable than has hitherto been believed to be the case, but for the most part destitute of serious foundation. On the other hand, I hope also to have shown that the scheme for the constitution of a new Frontier Province that I have put forward possesses these positive merits. It will express and enforce the direct responsibility of the Government of India for Frontier affairs. It will enable the Viceroy to conduct the most important business of the department of which he is the personal chief. It will free the management of Frontier politics from the delays that are inseparable from a chain of reference, whose strength is sacrificed to its length. It will promote greater rapidity, and consequently greater freedom of action. Its tendency should be not towards aggression, but towards peace, since war with the tribes is commonly the result of ignorance or indecision at earlier stages. It will entrust tribal management exclusively to those who know the tribes. It should train up a school of officers worthy of the most critical but splendid duty that is imposed upon any of the officers of the Queen's Government in India. For myself I only add that, having initiated a definite policy on the North-West Frontiers of India, which I believe to contain the germs of possible

success, I asked to be relieved of the conditions which appear to me to jeopardize its operation at every turn, and to be presented with those by which alone, in my opinion, its future can be reasonably assured."

# HISTORICAL INDIAN FAMINES.

SIR,

With reference to the account of the famine of 1555 in Captain Wolseley Haig's interesting article, pp. 29 and 30 of the *Review* for January, 1901, I beg leave to point out that this famine is also described by Abul Fazl. He, too, was an eye-witness, though only five years old at the time, and he speaks of the cannibalism that prevailed. See his "Akbar-nāma," ii., p. 35, Bib. Ind. edition, and, more fully still, his "Ain," Jarrett's translation, p. 426.

According to Badāonī, the famine occurred in 962 A.H., whereas Abul Fazl says it occurred in 963; but Badāonī's chronology and chronograms are not much to be trusted, and, moreover, Abul Fazl says the famine lasted two years, which may mean 962, 963.

H. BEVERIDGE.

June, 1901.

## "INDIAN FAMINE FACTS AND FALLACIES."

SIR,

The meeting of the East India Association for the reading of, and discussion on, Mr. J. D. Rees's paper on "Indian Famine Facts and Fallacies," was necessarily protracted, so that when my turn came the few remarks I had to make could not well get reported. Hence I trust you may allow me to reproduce the substance of them in this form. The meeting was fortunate in its chairman, Sir Charles Elliott, who, in the April number of the *Asiatic Quarterly*, had by his practised hand dealt with the facts of the recent calamity of drought and destitution, which has scarcely yet spent its force in Western India. In that article Sir Charles acknowledged that the forecast in October, 1899, "had underrated the extent and intensity of the calamity then impending over the country." And in concluding his review he frankly stated that "the recent famine (from the latter half of 1899 to last April) was certainly the most far-reaching and intense calamity of its class which has befallen India during the last century." But the genial description given by Mr. Rees put all that gloomy view aside as a popular fallacy. This address, so well phrased and so fluently delivered, was just of the sort that always pleases English audiences. Persons who do not read the Indian papers would gather from what they heard that afternoon that there was nothing worth mentioning about recent famines in India, except the energy and success with which five or six millions sterling had been expended in keeping the people alive, which, indeed, is cause for thankfulness. But the glamour that Mr. Rees cast over this dismal subject as a whole reminded one of Mark Tapley, who could be jolly under the worst strain of misfortune. Or it might recall

an episode of which the Chairman knew well at the time, when, early in 1866, Sir Cecil Beadon went down to Orissa to dispel the unpleasant warnings that troubled Calcutta, came back and reported that there was nothing serious, and it would be all right; but within a month the floods came down, the province was sealed up, and about a million of souls perished of starvation. So now, though the recent trouble has been bravely struggled with, it was necessary to check Mr. Rees's fallacies, and remind the meeting that there has really been a disastrous famine in India during the last eighteen months. And this could be shown on authority which even he must accept, namely, that of the *Standard's* semi-official Simla correspondent, who, writing under date of March 24, said: "Lord Curzon's previous estimate of 750,000 deaths is proved to be far below the mark, and in all probability at least five millions of people have died in India since 1896 from causes due to famine." So the question is, how to deal with this disastrous state of things. First, there is the proximate cause of loss of food-crops—lack of water. Therefore we must make war against drought. But behind that there is to be considered the chronic state of destitution in which the drought finds the people. One constant cause of this is the withdrawal from India of at least one-third of its annual net revenues. This depletion must somehow be staunched, for unless this can be done, famine will become chronic.

W. MARTIN WOOD.

June, 1901.

#### THE EMANCIPATION AND ELEVATION OF EGYPTIAN WOMEN.

The following important communication by Sir William Muir appeared in the *London Record* on May 24, 1901:

"A remarkable movement has been lately going on for the raising of womankind in Egypt, of which little seems known at home. It is strange that it should be so, for though we have all many friends there, one has heard very little of this before.

"One in the vicinity writes to me as follows on the interesting subject:

"... I am forwarding an Arabic book which will be of interest to you. It is causing a great sensation in Moslem circles. Its author, Casim Amin Bey, of Cairo, is a well-known Moslem Counsellor of the Court of Appeal. In 1889 he wrote a book, called "*Tahrîr al Mir'at*," advocating the emancipation of the women of Egypt, their education, and admission into the same rights and privileges as European women enjoy. It raised a perfect storm of opposition, the *Olma* and *Firka*, the bigoted and ignorant section of the community, being specially bitter in their attacks on the book and its author. They accused him of being an unbeliever, an enemy of Islam, and guilty of propagating ideas contrary to the precepts of the Koran. In reply to these denouncements, and in justification of his views, he has just published a second book, called "*Al Mir'at jadîdah*," or, "*The New Woman*." In the preface he gives the sheikhs of the Azhar such a proof of his mettle as they are not likely to forget soon. Every word he

writes is so true. And, to add to their consternation, the Mufty and other enlightened leaders of Islam in Cairo are inclined to support these revolutionary views.

“ ‘Strange to say, the principal opponents of the changes are the women themselves ; and certainly the woman of Egypt is, as a rule, so uneducated, so unrefined, so unaccustomed to self-restraint, that to thrust her out into general society as she is would be disastrous. What Casim Bey advocates is the training of the coming generation to take that place in the home and social circle which the woman of Europe occupies.

“ ‘If this is accomplished, and the woman, instead of being the slave of the man, becomes his equal, his companion, friend, and counsellor, the manager of his house, the educator and trainer of his children, Casim Bey is certain that the movement will be the greatest event that has happened in the history of Egypt.

“ ‘At present the Arabic reviews and daily papers are full of discussions on this question, and you hear it on everybody's lips. We, standing by, can see in it another marvellous sign of the change that is creeping over the Moslem world here—the breaking-down of barriers of custom, superstition, and ignorance, and the bringing in of a brighter, happier day for the men and women of Egypt.

“ ‘I enclose an article in English, describing the contents of the first work that was published on the subject.’

“ This new book of Casim Bey, which is beautifully printed in Arabic, and written in an elegant and graceful style, has the following chapters :

“ Introduction (severe against his opponents).

“ 1. Women of the past ages.

“ 2. Freedom of the sex.

“ 3. Obligatory on behalf of woman herself.

“ 4. Obligatory on behalf of her family.

“ 5. Education and the veil.

“ Thus we see that the women of Egypt have at last a grand future before them. It may be slow to realize, but not the less sure, as we may hope, in the end. Hidden as they now are in darkness and ignorance, the light will before long break in upon them. Shut out at present from social usefulness, with all its profit and enjoyment, they are, we trust, about to emerge into the happy position of their sisters in the West. And, above all, they will in doing so be no longer shut out, as they now are, from the influence of Christian life and teaching.

“ In the *Asiatic Quarterly* of 1899\* Casim Bey wrote an article regarding his first appeal, a portion of which may, I hope, be allowed to follow as an appendix. It shows the earnest endeavour he has long been making, and which we hope and trust may soon bring forth the fruit it so well deserves in the elevation of our Egyptian sisterhood.

“ W. MUIR.

“ May 15, 1901.”

\* See October, 1899, pp. 393-400.



## ZANZIBAR AND PEMBA.

SIR,

In your issue of July, 1895,\* there was an interesting article on British East Africa, including Zanzibar and Pemba. A Parliamentary Blue-Book has just been issued (Africa, No. 4, 1901) containing despatches relating to the social state of those islands, and in particular the position of the slaves at the present time. It has been calculated that 100,000 slaves were in these islands in 1897; but since the decree of the Sultan, some four years ago, the process of freeing them has been going on, though at times rather slowly. During the year 1899 in Zanzibar 1,427 were freed, and in Pemba 2,330, making a total of 3,757. The number that have been emancipated by the courts up to March 31 last is as follows: in Zanzibar 3,917, in Pemba 4,997, making a total of 8,914; and if we add 3,152 who have been freed outside the courts, there is a total of 12,066 who have received their freedom-papers during the four years that have followed the promulgation of the decree. In addition to this, 3,399 labour contracts have been entered into during the above period between master and slave, bringing the number of those who have been directly affected to 15,465, but as in these cases the slave has voluntarily maintained his servile status, he cannot be said to have been freed for the purposes of this calculation. Mr. Cave, therefore, in reply to a telegram from Lord Lansdowne of March 15 last, estimates that, after deducting deaths and disappearances, there are still about 53,000 slaves in the islands.

The various despatches show that where the master is kind to his slaves they have no desire to apply to the courts for certificates of freedom. This disinclination also arises from the ties of friendship and religion. Mr. Last, the Government Commissioner of Zanzibar, states: "The slave has a fairly easy, and, what suits him, a very irresponsible, lot. He has to work for three days in each week for his master, the hours being from about 8 a.m. till 4 p.m. . . . The other four days of the week are entirely at the slave's own disposal, in which he can either work on his own piece of land, which he holds from his master, or he can work for others for payment, or he can idle away the four days just as he pleases." The Sultan's Commissioner for Pemba, Mr. Farler, in his despatch of December 31 last, makes the observation that "the Government has been amply justified in proceeding slowly and cautiously in the emancipation of the slaves. We now see the advantages of it in every way, for as the slaves are freed, with few exceptions, they settle steadily on the land, and will form a most valuable agricultural population in the future." And had the Government acted otherwise "there is no doubt but that the future prospect for the island would have been dark indeed, and we should now be in the same depressed condition that the West Indies were after their sudden emancipation. Labour would have been thoroughly disorganized, and the land filled with vagrants and squatters leading idle and useless lives, while the plantations and industries of the country would have been ruined."

\* See pp. 65-70.

Mr. Cave, moreover, states a very melancholy fact in a telegraphic communication to Lord Lansdowne, dated April 19 last, that "nearly every unmarried native woman has become a prostitute in Pemba, where there are no brothels, and in Zanzibar numerous brothels have been opened, the occupants of which are nearly all freed slaves. To obtain statistics with regard to prostitution is impossible, but it is certain that of late years it has greatly increased."

It is gratifying to find that the Sultan is determined to arrest as far as he can the traffic in slaves, and their being carried off to Muscat and other places. An incident has recently arisen where a cousin of the Sultan was found by the court abetting or conniving in this traffic, and in consequence he was sentenced to six months' imprisonment and the forfeiture of all his slaves.

LEX ET VERITAS.

June, 1901.

### THE CONDITION OF INDIA AND ITS PEOPLE.

Mr. William Digby, in a communication to Lord Curzon, controverts the statements made by His Excellency on several important points regarding the present condition of India and its people. He considers that he has been misled by the statistics furnished to him. For example, Lord Curzon said, at Calcutta in March last, there were in 1880 194,000,000 acres under cultivation, and now there were 217,000,000; but by the Famine Commission Report the figures were 182,750,000; and by the Director-General of Statistics' Report (being more reliable, Mr. Digby thinks, than the figures furnished to the Viceroy) the figures for 1897-98 were 196,497,232, showing an increase since 1880 of 13,747,232. Since 1880 there has been added an acreage in Upper Burma of 3,167,133, and a population in British India in the year 1880 of 191,000,000, and in 1900 230,000,000 being an increase of 39,000,000. Mr. Digby points out that the statistics from the various official sources are in great confusion, and in certain cases not reliable. Lord Curzon stated that in the year 1880 the yield of food-crops per acre was 730 lbs., and in 1898 it was 740 lbs. The Famine Commissioners, on the other hand, state that the yield in the former year was 695 lbs., and in 1898 it was 845 lbs. But this result is discredited. Mr. Digby also discusses the income of the people from agricultural and non-agricultural sources, and works out the result according to population that that income in 1881 was Rs. 27·8 annas, whereas in 1899 it fell to Rs. 17·5 annas. The letter contains many other interesting details and calculations, and advises His Excellency not to leave India until he has got together statistics concerning the Empire which the plain man may understand, and which may be accepted as unquestioned data. The necessity for statistics on which to base conclusions, and thereby to provide trustworthy information, is one of the greatest needs of the day so far as India is concerned.

## QUEEN VICTORIA MEMORIAL, CALCUTTA.

We rejoice to learn, from the first number of the *Journal of the Queen Victoria Indian Memorial Fund*, that it is proposed to erect, in memory of her late Majesty, a memorial building in Calcutta, as the capital of the Indian Empire. The building is to be of marble, the central feature of which will be a hall devoted to the memory of the late Queen, and containing such relics as it may be possible to procure of Her Majesty, particularly in relation to her rule over India, which first passed under the direct administration of the Crown during her reign, the remainder of the structure to consist of galleries and apartments dedicated to collections of statuary, paintings, arms, trophies, coins, medals, maps, plans, models, and other memorials of bygone Indian history.

It is contemplated to enlist the best talent of the Empire in designing and executing this Memorial Hall and laying out its surroundings, so that the monument may be of great splendour, and worthy of the high object for which it is intended—in short, a structure deserving to be regarded as one of the great structures of the new century and of the British Empire. All communications to be addressed to “The Editor, *Journal of the Queen Victoria Indian Memorial Fund*, Royal Exchange, Calcutta,” and copies of the journal, which will be published from time to time, as the Memorial Fund and work proceed, may be obtained free from Messrs. Constable and Co., 2, Whitehall Gardens, London, S.W., or Mr. Edward Stanford, 12, Long Acre, W.C.

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 THE TODAS AND THE CENSUS.

Mr. H. Beachamp, editor of the *Madras Mail*, has kindly sent us the following interesting information :

Mr. Thurston's “monograms” (as one native admirer termed them) on the Todas of the Nilgiris have recently so much revived the interest taken in that quaint community, that the results of the census of the race are worth notice. Special arrangements were made this year to render the count as reliable as possible. In February and March, the months in which the Indian census has been taken on the last two occasions, the Todas are usually away on the Kundahs grazing their buffaloes, and not living in their usual *munds*. It is thus particularly difficult to count them accurately, as they are never in the same place for more than a few days together, and it is not easy to get enough enumerators with knowledge of such an out-of-the-way corner of the country to enable all the encampments to be visited on the same day. The nearest date to the ordinary census-night on which the Todas could be relied upon to be in their usual *munds* was December 15, and, accordingly, from December 1 onwards a preliminary list of all the Todas in all the *munds* was made and checked, and in the early morning of December 15 this was simultaneously checked again in all the *munds* at once. Coming by itself as it did, this census could thus be given more attention than if it had been only one small item in the operation of the whole district, and it was probably as accurate

as any ever taken. The results, as well as those of the three previous enumerations, are as follows :

|      |     | Males. |     | Females. |     | Total. |
|------|-----|--------|-----|----------|-----|--------|
| 1871 | ... | 405    | ... | 288      | ... | 693    |
| 1881 | ... | ?      | ... | ?        | ... | 675    |
| 1891 | ... | 427    | ... | 312      | ... | 739    |
| 1901 | ... | 422    | ... | 330      | ... | 752    |

These figures show that the Todas just succeeded in maintaining their strength, but that the men have decreased since 1891, and are only seventeen more than they were thirty years ago.

#### LORD CROMER ON EGYPT.

Lord Cromer's report\* for the past year is interesting and important. He writes for the information not only of the British Government, but also for those who lead public opinion in Egypt. Hence he has treated local matters in considerable detail. The revenue has been £E11,663,000, the expenditure £E11,104,000, thus showing a surplus of £E559,000. (The £E is equal to £1 os. 6d.) In the estimate for the current year fiscal reforms have been made, not only in providing revenue, but also towards improving the system of administration; among other important matters the navigation of the Nile has been freed. The civil and military administration of the Soudan has cost £E417,000. Although this charge on the Egyptian treasury is heavy, Lord Cromer is of opinion that it has been borne without seriously interfering with the finance of the country, thus showing, "more than any other single fact, very strong proof of the great recuperative power with which Egypt has by nature been endowed." The country has been relieved of Dervish invasion, and there is now no fear of interference with the water supply, on which the prosperity of the country depends. Trade has sprung up, and will inevitably increase as time goes on, also the work of civilization and cultivation, without any hindrance. To assist the cultivator, and to enable him to avoid the money-lender, a banking scheme has been established. "The bank, through its own agents, does all the work of lending. In every district in which operations are undertaken an agent is appointed, who receives a commission of 1 per cent. per annum on any loan that he may make. These agents are placed under the general supervision of English inspectors." The money is advanced at the rate of 10 per cent., and after paying the agent's commission and other expenses, it is estimated that there is a net profit of 6 per cent. This scheme has been very successful. Post Office Savings Banks have also been established. Deposits at present are limited to £E200 for each individual, and interest at the rate of 2½ per cent. The sums deposited are invested in Egyptian stock, and any profit is to be devoted towards the expenses of administration. Gigantic reservoirs are nearly completed, and a system of gauges at the various lakes from which the Nile is fed are being rapidly erected, so that a forecast of water supply may be made from time to time.

\* Parliamentary paper. Egypt, No. 1. (1901.)

# NATIVE LANGUAGES AND ENGLISH OFFICIALS IN AFRICA.

Dr. Cust having suggested that, in consideration of British rule in Africa, "some provision should be at once made for establishing in London a centre of instruction (to officers and other British administrators) in the two or three great vernacular languages of that region," Mr. Fox-Bourne, Secretary of the Aborigines' Protection Society, has supported the movement, and in the correspondence with the Government on the subject he has received the assurance that the Secretary of State for War and the Commander-in-Chief "are quite prepared to consider the advisability of adding the principal African languages to those for which rewards are given; but they would be glad, in the first instance, to be favoured with the opinion of your committee as to what languages it is proposed should be studied." To this invitation Mr. Fox-Bourne has replied that an acquaintance with the five languages Zulu, Swahili, Somali, Yoruba, and Hausa is especially desirable for the following reasons: "(1) They are in use among the most numerous African communities with which British administrators are at present in contact; (2) the most serviceable as keys or preliminaries to an understanding of local dialects and variations which may be easily acquired by those familiar with them; and (3) within easiest reach of study through textbooks and teaching appliances at present available.

"It is submitted (1) that a familiarity with Zulu would open the way to comprehension of nearly all the dialects spoken by the Bantus south of the Zambesi, and also in British Central Africa; (2) that Swahili, though it may be an inferior Bantu dialect, is the one most widely used in Central Africa; (3) that the Somali language appears to supply the basis for acquaintance with the Hamitic languages that are most in vogue on both sides of the Nile; (4) that Yoruba is presumably the most widely used, if not almost the most fundamental, of the languages spoken by the pagan communities in Western Africa; and (5) that the Hausa language is already recognised as the most important medium of communication among the Muhammadan communities in and near West Africa over whom British influence is rapidly extending."

The following letter from the Colonial Secretary to the Secretary of the Aborigines' Protection Society will be read with interest:

"Downing Street,

"April 4, 1901.

"SIR,

"I am directed by Mr. Secretary Chamberlain to acknowledge the receipt of your letters of 22nd February and 8th March with regard to the importance of a knowledge of native languages in connection with the administration of territories in Africa.

"2. Mr. Chamberlain agrees with the Aborigines' Protection Society in thinking it very important that the holders of administrative posts should be acquainted with the languages of the native communities, and the

matter has not failed to engage the attention of the local governments in West and South Africa.

"3. In West Africa the Governments of the Gold Coast and Lagos have for some years past encouraged the study of Hausa and Yoruba languages, and also of the Fanti or Tchie, and the Accra or Ga languages, by offering gratuities to officers who have acquired a certain proficiency in them, and by giving preference in cases of promotion to such officers; and in Nigeria it is now proposed to encourage the study of Nupé as well as Hausa and Yoruba; but, as the Society is no doubt aware, the ordinary difficulties of securing proficiency in native languages which have no currency or use outside a limited district are greatly increased in West Africa by the fact that, owing to the climatic conditions, European officials are unable to settle in the country and make it their home.

"4. As regards South Africa, I am to add that Sir Alfred Milner's attention is being invited to the Society's representation.

"I am, sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"H. BERTRAM COX."

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#### SCHEME FOR AN INQUIRY CONCERNING ISLAMISM.\*

Dr. E. Montet, Professor at the University of Geneva, returned early in April last from a journey to Morocco. This journey, notwithstanding many difficulties and a certain amount of danger, has succeeded beyond his expectations.

Dr. Montet has visited and travelled on horseback over all the coast from Tangier to the south of Mogador. During his first journey he penetrated into the little-known district of Ras-ed-Dourah. In a second trip he went from Mazagan to Marrakesh, where he remained during December, 1900. Finally, in a third expedition, he proceeded to the Great Atlas region, and visited the towns and localities of Amizmiz, Imintanout, Tiggi, Imintatan-dout, Dar-ouled-emflous, etc., passing through places little known, and some territories not yet explored.

The Professor's journey therefore possesses a special geographical interest. He has also collected some important information from a political point of view.

In short, this traveller has brought back numerous documents relating to the questions which he specially went to investigate, viz., that of Mussulman religious confraternities.

We hope that the Professor's duties will allow him sufficient leisure to publish the result of his researches without delay in a permanent form, which will doubtless be most interesting and valuable.

In our October issue we shall publish an article of Dr. Montet's on this important journey.

\* See our references to this subject in our January number, 1901, p. 190; and in our April number, p. 402.

## THE AUSTRALIAN COMMONWEALTH.

We are favoured with the following information from our esteemed correspondent in Sydney, dated April 21 :

"We have just passed through the struggle of our first Federal elections. In this colony (New South Wales) they gave rise to a very bitter struggle on the old question of Protection *v.* Free Trade, the result being a small majority for the latter. In Victoria the Protectionists have a sweeping majority ; the other States are divided about it. So far, Federation has not realized our hopes of universal harmony taking the place of provincial jealousy—rather the other way ; but we may hope for better things as time goes on."

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## A CHINA EXHIBITION IN LONDON.

We have pleasure in announcing that a Chinese exhibition will be held next month in the Whitechapel Art Gallery. The object is to illustrate the life, the industry, and the art of the Chinese. There will be a specimen of a poor man's house—his furniture, dress, and tools ;—of a rich man's house, of a shop, a temple ; also specimens of the art of the nation, so arranged and described as to bring home to visitors the progress or stationariness of the thought of the nation. There will also be verbal descriptions and lectures by those able to speak with authority on "things Chinese." The exhibition promises to be one of special interest. The director is Mr. C. Aitken, Art Gallery, High Street, Whitechapel, E., to whom objects for exhibition and contributions should be sent.

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## CHINA IN THE FUTURE.

Our esteemed correspondent writes from Tientsin : "I am convinced it would be unwise of England to open the question of any partition of China at present, although it will probably eventually come to that, as I do not think China can ever govern itself ; and if it cannot, it follows as a logical sequence that somebody else must step in and govern it. The country is much too rich and extensive to be left to itself in a state of perpetual anarchy and decay. How to govern it, and who is to govern, are questions difficult to answer."

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

WILLIAM HEINEMANN ; LONDON, 1901.

1. *Mount Omi and Beyond : a Record of Travel on the Thibetan Border*, by ARCHIBALD JOHN LITTLE, F.R.G.S., author of "Through the Yangtse Gorges," etc. This well-illustrated volume describes the author's tour and sojourn in a part of China far removed from Western influence, a region which is covered by range upon range of precipitous mountains. The author describes the daily life of the natives as similar to that of our ancestors before the Reformation. He says: "The nearest highlands accessible are the sacred mountains of Omi, situated in the Kiating prefecture, about 150 miles west of Chunking. These form the outermost western buttresses of the Thibetan plateau. One passes from the steaming plain of Szechuen to the breezy heights of the mountains, which extend unbroken to the Himalayas, mounting this great natural wall by an artificial staircase of some 20,000 slippery limestone steps. Once there, one is in a paradise of Nature, seasoned by the romance of history and the traditions of Buddhism."

The author, who was accompanied by his wife, reached the summit proper of Omi, called "the pavilion of the thousand Buddhas," 10,500 feet above sea-level, twenty-two days after leaving Chunking.

This very instructive and readable volume is accompanied by a sketch-map of Northern and Central Sze Chuan, showing the author's journeys in 1892-1897.

HODDER AND STOUGHTON ; LONDON.

2. *General Sir Arthur Cotton, R.E., K.C.S.I. : his Life and Work*. The first feeling I had after reading again the story of Sir Arthur Cotton's great work for India, and his almost desperate attempts to do far more than has ever been even attempted by anyone else, was one of regret that my own time out there had been spent in such comparatively petty details. He was a man who thought in millions—thousands of millions of cubic yards of water, hundreds of millions of pounds sterling, and was indeed a millionaire in the best sense of the word : for the benefits he conferred on the millions of India can only be estimated in millions sterling, whilst we ordinary mortals spent our time squabbling over and auditing charges of hundreds and thousands, and scarcely ever left any permanent trace of our work. There certainly seems to be some want of the sense of proportion as to the value of work amongst officials in India ; and speaking as one of the civilians he so much decries, I must admit that, as a body, and especially as a Government, they often failed to appreciate at their full value the enormous benefits which irrigation works confer upon the country even when not directly remunerative. Even Sir George Campbell, able man as he was, seems to have been curiously incapable of realizing what an enormous boon a continuous supply of water is in that thirsty land, even if only for half the year. I hope it is not so now. Governments are more



alive to the vital importance of irrigation as a preventive of famine, but even yet they are slow to recognise what might be done by means of gigantic reservoirs such as Sir Arthur's soul delighted in.

Many very good excuses might be made for these old dry-as-dust officials, and Sir Arthur was probably not aware of the number of his earnest admirers in the rank and file of the Indian Civil Service who thoroughly believe him to have been India's greatest benefactor; but I have neither room nor inclination for excuses in presence of this long and terrible indictment of bureaucratic inability to realize facts. I prefer to hope that future Governments will take his words to heart, and that in the good time to come another Lord Cromer will be found who will carry out some of his schemes *in their entirety*, not piecemeal, as has been too much the fashion. "Nothing," as he says, "can be more astonishing than the neglect" of minor irrigation works in Madras, but the blame is not entirely due to the Civil Service. This is clear from p. 177 of this book itself. Nothing could be stronger and more satisfactory than the minutes of consultation there quoted, and drafted, no doubt, by Sir C. Trevelyan, himself a member of the Civil Service.

Unfortunately, these good resolutions have never been thoroughly carried into effect. Indian Governments have always been afraid of the enormous expenditure required to carry out irrigation and navigation on the scale contemplated by Sir Arthur Cotton, and it is no doubt true that the "vacillation" so much regretted by the Government of Madras has been extremely expensive to the country. If the Government of India would face the cost of complete estimates to begin with, as Lord Cromer faced the £5,000,000 required for a single dam in Egypt, the results would have been far more satisfactory, and there would have been far less waste. Under the peddling system generally followed, engineers have been compelled to make wholly inadequate estimates in the first instance in order to induce the Government to undertake the work at all. Once it is fairly started they know that, by sending in supplemental estimates and long reports on further advantages to be expected, they can, after immense trouble and much abuse, get their original ideas carried out in the end, but only after all sorts of extravagant delays and quite unnecessary expense and friction. For instance, Sir Arthur finished the first part of his great work on the Cauvery some years before I was born; but the scheme was not properly completed as he would certainly have completed it till the year I left Tanjore, after twenty-four years' service in the country. One consequence of this delay was that in 1883, some fifty years after he began work on that river, the district of Tanjore was devastated by appalling floods, and the Government lost in revenue alone some lacs of rupees, which would have been saved if a complete scheme had been made to begin with. How much the ryots must have lost in the fifty years from preventable damage it is quite impossible to guess—certainly millions sterling. Sir Arthur Cotton experienced all these difficulties again in the execution of the great Godavery works, which are probably, as Mr. Deakin says, "the most beneficent and profitable irrigation works in the world." The original modest, one might almost say ridiculous, estimate of £47,575

had to be raised in the end to £1,300,000 before they were really completed, and it is not too much to say that if a really complete estimate could have been sent in to begin with it would in all probability never have been sanctioned at all.

It is impossible to discuss this deeply interesting work in any detail within the limits at my command. I can only comment thus briefly on such parts of it as are concerned with places of which I know something myself, and trust it may be a guiding star to many an administrator in times to come. Everyone engaged in the government of India should make it his *vade mecum*. Boldness in carrying out irrigation works is just as essential as boldness of attack in Eastern warfare.

Lastly, as a critic is bound to find some fault, if only to show that he has really read the book, I venture to suggest that dates in the margin of each page would be a great convenience. As far as I can see, there is nothing, for instance, to show in what year Sir Arthur went home on furlough after completing the Godavery annicut. The book is also disfigured by a (very) few errors in spelling, etc., e.g., "Tambragani" for "Tambraparni" (or "pani") (p. 344); "Vigny" for "Vygay"; and some others, such as that on p. 78, where the length of the Godavery is given as ninety-nine miles, and the dreadful misquotation of a well-known line on p. 150.

"There is nothing like leather," and I will conclude by pointing out how completely the superiority of the ryotwari system is vindicated by Sir Arthur's experience. "It is almost incredible," says his worthy successor, Colonel Haig, "the amount of labour and effort that is expended by the ryot (*the Zemindars, as a rule, do nothing*) to secure, as far as possible, every drop of the precious element." On this Sir Arthur characteristically comments, "If this does not show some monstrous mismanagement" (on the part, that is, of his *bête noire* the revenue official), "what would?"

Yet surely the unfortunate revenue officer of the present day can hardly be held responsible for the existence of Zemindars! It must be admitted that he was a *little* prejudiced, but, after all, he probably did more for India than any other man who ever lived, and verily he has his reward in the triumphant success of his work, the extraordinary prosperity of the districts with which his name is inseparably connected, and in the memory of a grateful people.

His work as an agricultural reformer in England after his retirement deserves an essay to itself, and cannot be discussed here.

J. P.

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KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER AND CO., LTD., LONDON; J. C. JUTA AND CO., CAPETOWN, 1901.

3. *The History of South Africa*, by the HON. A. WILMOT, K.S.G., F.R.G.S., Member of the Legislative Council of the Cape Colony, etc. This racy and well-written volume is intended as a concise manual of South African history, for general use, and as a reading-book in schools. It is admirably adapted for the purpose. The writer correctly says, it is "an attempt to tell in a brief and readable form the story of the expansion of a country in which one of the greatest and richest empires of the southern seas is now

in course of being built up." The work embraces the early history of the Hottentots, Bushmen, and Kafirs; their customs, manners, and characteristics, a knowledge of which explains in a measure the several wars which have taken place with the aborigines; and their political results, all of which are concisely and clearly stated. His general survey of the country is as follows: "We are only beginning mineral discovery in South Africa, and day after day hear of new mines of gold, iron, silver, coal, tin, and quicksilver. Our sheep-walks and cattle-runs are not surpassed anywhere; enormous tracts of irrigable land await cultivation; the wheat of the Cape Colony is of first-class merit, and Southern Africa can be made one of the granaries of the world. In this vast section of a vast continent, extending for thousands of miles in length and in breadth, composing all the country from the river Zambesi to Cape Agulhas, there are, of course, a variety of climatic conditions, but, speaking generally, Nature has crowned all its benefits by a delightful, exhilarating, and healthful climate. The existence of the coloured race is an immense benefit, as by means of them cheap labour is obtainable, and large agricultural supplies can be constantly procured. But South Africa, although its population chiefly comprises the descendants of stalwart nomadic races, who have migrated from a northern portion of the continent, is eminently a white man's country, where homes can be found for millions of the overflowing populations of Europe." Accompanying the volume there is an excellent map of the British possessions, with adjacent possessions north, west, and east. The author, after describing the present war with the Boers, concludes by trusting "that reason will soon assert its sway, and that people of all nationalities will, for mutual interests, endeavour to accept the inevitable, promote amity among themselves, and thus pave the way for a successful South African federated dominion under the British Crown."

4. *British America.* This forms the third volume of the British Empire Series. It contains admirable papers, by High Commissioners and other well-known officials, of the Dominion of Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, British Columbia, Newfoundland, Bermuda, and the various groups of the West Indies. Each paper gives a short history of the respective countries, past and present, their trade, commerce, government, and laws. There is a valuable table showing the area of each country, their population, their imports and exports, their fiscal arrangements, and other useful information. There are also two maps.

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CHARLES H. KELLY; 2, CASTLE STREET, CITY ROAD, AND 26, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, E.C., 1901.

5. *Palestine in Geography and in History*, by ARTHUR WILLIAM COOKE, M.A. Vols. I. and II. These handy volumes form part of a series of books for Bible students edited by the Rev. Arthur E. Gregory, Principal of the Children's Home. The first volume describes in a very concise and readable style Palestine as a whole, its geography, its history from the earliest inhabitants, the settlement of the Israelites, and later times, also Western Palestine, comprehending Galilee and Samaria; the second

volume continues a description of Western Palestine, comprehending Judæa, the maritime plain and the coast, and Eastern Palestine, including Bashan, Gilead, and Moab. Each volume contains valuable indices and excellent maps. Mr. Cooke's manner of treating his subject may be judged from the following description of the coast-line and adjacent plains, which is exact and concise :

"Recent research enables the boundaries of the Shephelah to be drawn with considerable precision. On the east runs the line of valleys forming the western frontier of Judæa, from a point not far north of Ajalon to the neighbourhood of Kh. Khuweilfeh in the south. Along the western border stretches the maritime plain, from which these low hills should be carefully distinguished, in spite of recent contention to the contrary. 'The name 'shephelah' may at times have been extended to cover the plain, but the distinction of mountain, shephelah, and plain is explicitly made by Jewish writers themselves as far as the region of Judæa is concerned, and all the places assigned to the 'lowland' in the Old Testament lie off the plain and among the foot-hills. The northern boundary may be placed roughly at the valley of Ajalon, while on the south the district loses itself in the Negeb. Perhaps the Wady es Seba may be taken as a rough boundary-line in this direction.

"The western edge of the shephelah curves round the Philistian plain like the seats of a Greek theatre, with Joppa at one end of the curve and Gaza at the other. The valleys already noted as running across the district from east to west serve to divide it into several distinct hill-groups, and also form convenient ways up from the cities of the plain to various points along the Judæan tableland. The prevailing scenery of the region is of 'short, steep hillsides and narrow glens, with a very few great trees, and thickly covered by brushwood and oak-scrub, crags and scalps of limestone breaking through, and a rough, gray torrent-bed at the bottom of each glen.' Parts of the district are cultivated, but the greater portion is wild, broken country, not over well supplied with water, abounding in caves, and strewn with ruins dating back from the twelfth century A.D. across the Byzantine and early Christian periods as far, perhaps, as the days of border warfare between Philistine and Israelite; for, in addition to remains of churches and cloisters, there are ruins of ancient olive-presses and vineyards, with perhaps here and there traces of very old altars."

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KELLY AND WALSH, LTD., SINGAPORE, HONG KONG, SHANGHAI, AND YOKOHAMA; AND SAMPSON LOW, LONDON, 1901.

6. *A Malay-English Dictionary*, by R. J. WILKINSON, Straits Settlements Civil Service. Part I. (Alif to Za). A very valuable work, in clear type, and well arranged in regard to compound words. We give a few specimens exhibiting the manner of printing and treatment of words, terms, and phrases. We regret that our space prevents us from giving more :

๕ = *tuwa* : old; matured; age; seniority. *Orang t.* : (1) an old man; (2) the head of the family; the father; a village patriarch; an adult in contradistinction to a child, or one of the older as opposed to the younger generation. *Orang tuwa bongkok pakai baju bēsi* : a humpbacked old man in

a coat of mail; a tortoise. *Orang tuwa chatok*: an old man in his dotage. *Orang tuwa dato*: an old man of position and rank. *Orang tuwa lunto*: a broken-down old man. *Orang tuwa sunto*: an old man who apes youthful ways. *Toleh tenggala tuwa*: v. *toleh*. *Kētuwa*: a village headman. *K. kampung* or *tuwa kampung*: id. *Pertuwa* and *pēngētuwa*: id. *Paratuwa*: the elders of a village considered collectively. *Kētuwa-tuwaan*: id. *Kétuwakan*: to have or appoint as headman; Sh. Jub. Mal., 10. *Pak tuwa*: an uncle older than one's father; Sh. Sri Bun., 57. Also *pak uwa* and *pak wa*. *Bapa tuwa*: id.; Sej. Mal., 90. *Mertuwa* and *mēntuwa*: father-in-law. *Tuwa* after the names of colours gives the meaning of "deep," "dark," to those colours. *Merah t.*: deep dark red. *Hitam-nya tuwa*: it was of a deep black; Ht. Sh. Kub. After the names of minerals *tuwa* means purity from alloy. The form *tuha* also occurs.

جالي = *jalan*: motion; movement in a definite direction or course; the course taken; a road; a way; the proper way or method. *Lorong dan jalan*: lanes and roads. *Sa-panjang j.*: throughout the journey; all along the road. *Di-jalan*: on the way. *Mēnangkap ikan (tiyada) dēngan jalan yang lain mēlainkan ditikam-nya*: they had no way of catching fish except that of spearing them; Ht. Abd., 202. *Sandara sa-jalan sa-jadi*: twin brothers; Ht. Mas. Ed.; Ht. Sh. Kub. *J. bēhasa*: idiom; the art of idiomatic speech. *J. igama*: theology; things connected with the science of religion. *Mata j.*: an outpost. *Mēmbawa j.*: to lead the way. *Bēr-jalan*: to be on a walk or journey; to be in movement; to walk. *B. kaki*: to walk. *Bērjalan rēbah*: to stumble along, of a very young child's first attempts at walking; Ht. Ganj. Mara., 16. *Jalani*: to travel over; Sh. Bid., 20; Ht. Abd., 56, 308. *Mēnjalani* and *Mēnjalkan*: (lit.) to cause to move on its regular course; to keep in motion; to keep (a thing) going. *M. sēgala pēkerjaan sēndiri-diri*: to look after one's business one's self; to keep things going by one's self; Ht. Abd., 442. *Pērjalan*: course; way; journeying; the proper way or conduct of anything; Ht. Abd., 94, 113, 473, etc. *Sa-jam pērjalan*: an hour's journey. *Duwa hari pērjalan*: two days' journey. *Hikmat pērjalan-nya sama juga sapērti hikmat Siyamang tunggal*: a charm, the working of which is similar to that of the charm of the Lone Siamang. The form *pēnjalan* is also found; Muj., 40.

تيتي = *titi*: passage along a narrow footway, such as the trunk of a fallen tree or the branch of a living one; in Penang it is incorrectly used for *jambatan*, a bridge. *Titiyan*: a small and narrow footway; a plank laid across a ditch or a log across a river. *T. siratul-mistakīn*: the razor-edged bridge over which the true believer passes into heaven; Sh. Tab. Mimp., 2. *Titiyan* is also used in the Mahk. Raj. for the steed on the back of which a river is crossed. *Mēniti*: to make one's way over such a passage. *Sapērti lotong mēniti dahan kayu*: like a monkey moving along a branch; a proverbial simile for a narrow-minded man whose attention is confined to his immediate surroundings. *Di-mana kayu bongkok di-situ-lah hendak meniti*: where the wood is knotted, there will people place their feet; a fool invites plunder; Prov. *Tertiti-titi*: in Indian file; in a long row, one behind the other.

LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.; LONDON, BOMBAY AND NEW YORK, 1901.

7. *The Law and Policy of Annexation, with Special Reference to the Philippines, together with Observations on the Status of Cuba*, by CARMAN F. RANDOLPH, of the New York Bar, author of "The Law of Eminent Domain." An exhaustive and clear legal statement, with reference to the Constitution of the United States on the question of annexation, the enlargement of territory, and the obligations arising from sovereignty or protectorate in accordance with Constitutional principles. The appendix contains important documents, such as the Resolution in regard to Cuba, the Declaration of War, the Treaty of Paris, the Act of March, 1899, an Index of Legal Cases in support of the author's argument, and a general index of the various topics referred to in the discussion. The following important principle, as laid down by Judge Day as the head of the American Peace Commission at Paris, is quoted, viz.: "Whatever the power of the American Government under the Constitution, the American people, through their executive and representatives in Congress, may be trusted to see that there goes with American sovereignty the underlying principle of freedom and liberty for which our fathers fought, and for which they set up a government of and by and for the people. A party which should ignore or forget these principles would be relegated by the people from power to obscurity." The work is eminently useful to Constitutional lawyers and statesmen.

LUZAC AND CO.; GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON, 1900.

8. *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, by E. J. W. GIBB, M.R.A.S. Vol. I. A very elaborate history and analysis of a class of literature little known to the English reader. It is not a rival, but rather a supplement to Von Hammer's voluminous work. The object of the learned and acute author is to bring into prominence that aspect of the subject which has been left comparatively unnoticed by Von Hammer. He traces in a methodical manner the successive phases through which Ottoman poetry has passed, he endeavours with success to trace the influences which have brought these about, and thus he presents an interesting panorama of the rise and progress, both ancient and modern, of Ottoman poetry, and places within reach of English readers the account of a literature which has been scarcely touched by any English writer. He justly observes that, with respect to Arabic and Persian literatures, a certain amount is fairly well known; but regarding Turkey there is a blank ignorance, which has led to the common but mistaken belief that the Turks have no literature.

The scheme of the author's history is in six books, the first of which contains an elaborate introduction; while Book II. in this volume deals with one of the five periods into which he has divided his history. The introduction treats of the origin, character, and scope of Ottoman poetry; tradition, philosophy, and mysticism; verse form, prosody, and rhetoric; and a historical outline. The first period embraces the early mystics, the rise of secular poetry, the first Ottoman poets—(Prince Suleymán's)—the Romanists, Hurúfis, the Scribe and his sons, and minor poets, concluding with

an interesting statement as to the manner in which Sultan Murád II. encouraged and patronized poetic literature and learned culture. He states on good authority "that on two days in each week this Sultan was accustomed to hold assemblies of poets and other persons distinguished in letters or science, when all manner of literary and scientific questions were debated. It was a frequent custom at such meetings to propound some question, which those present would freely discuss, the Sultan himself usually joining in the debate, after which prizes and honorary titles were given to those who were judged to have acquitted themselves best." We also learn that when the Sultan heard of any poor but deserving man of talent in his kingdom, he took care to find him some employment suited to his peculiar gift. This Sultan succeeded in A.H. 824 (A.D. 1421), and died in A.H. 855 (A.D. 1451).

The author classifies Ottoman poetry under two great divisions. The first is the Old or Asiatic School, which flourished down to the middle of the nineteenth century, and the New or European School. The latter differs widely from the former, not merely in the outward form of its verse, but in its whole bent and purpose from all that goes before. The productions of the former school are minutely examined and analyzed. They consist of works of extreme interest to the scholar, the historian, the theologian, and the philosopher. Our space, however, debars us from giving examples of passages of much sublimity and beauty.

Mr. Gibb, in his exhaustive introduction, states: "The Turks knew but one literature, that of Persia, on which they had been reared. And thus this brilliant literature became, not by selection, but by force of circumstances, the model after which the Turks should fashion that which they were about to found. . . . Thus it comes about that for centuries Ottoman poetry continued to reflect as in a glass the several phases through which that of Persia passed."

This very valuable volume contains also a list of the Ottoman Sultans, and the first lines of the Turkish text of the poems translated. We shall look forward with much interest to the appearance of Vol. II.

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MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD.; LONDON, 1901.

9. *A Year in China, 1899-1900, with some Account of Admiral Sir E. Seymour's Expedition*, by CLIVE BIGHAM, C.M.G. With illustrations and maps. The volume is a record of personal experience and impressions during a sojourn in parts of China and the Far East, partly as a traveller, partly as a diplomatist, and partly as a soldier. He narrates his impressions and experiences in a clear and spirited style. From his official position he had access to places and persons not open to the ordinary traveller. These are graphically described. The illustrations and maps are specially interesting. One shows China proper in its eighteen provinces; another, the Trans-Manchurian Railway, the author's route, the Chinese, the Russian, and other railways; and another, the railways of Asia. The Appendix gives a list of the more important and useful works recently published on China, as well as the various provinces into which

China is divided ; a finger-post of the journey across Asia from London viâ Berlin, Warsaw, Moscow, Irkutsk, etc., to Vladivostock ; a glossary of words ; and a general index. The author confirms the general opinion that there is "a necessity for the development of trade, lower prices, improved communication, and the like, if we wish to keep ahead of our commercial rivals, and in the same way the urgent need of reform in the Chinese administration, army, and system of learning, if that nation is to make any real progress in civilization."

METHUEN AND CO. ; LONDON, 1901.

10. *Modern Abyssinia*, by AUGUSTUS B. WYLDE, late Vice-Consul for the Red Sea, author of "'83 to '87 in the Soudan." This book should be read by everyone who wishes to obtain a clear insight into the Abyssinian Question, one of the most important on the political horizon, and deserves to be most carefully considered by the Foreign Office. It teems with internal evidence that the author enjoys a well-balanced judgment with an intimate acquaintance with his subject, and, as the writer of this notice has occasion to know, there is a remarkable agreement between the views expressed in it and those of perhaps the only other European who has the same special knowledge of the Abyssinian chieftains and people. Mr. Wylde has a great deal to say about the way we have blundered in our dealings with the country, and makes many useful suggestions as to our policy in the future ; moreover, his military training has enabled him to examine critically the theatre of the war in which Italy was so unsuccessful, and to gather most valuable lessons for us from this and other recent Abyssinian campaigns. But it is not the politician or the soldier alone to whom the work appeals : it is full of varied interest for the ordinary reader. An introductory chapter is followed by two more devoted to the last thirty years of Abyssinia's history, and by another on its geographical characteristics ; and then the author takes us with him from Massowah to Addis Ababa and Zeilah, stopping by the way to point out to us all that is curious or otherwise worthy of note, so that by the time we reach the journey's end we imperceptibly acquire a good general idea of the land, its inhabitants, and its possibilities. The book contains none of the "got-up, washed, went to bed" kind of thing one is so often treated to by travellers ; in fact, Mr. Wylde's diary is only referred to once or twice. He is evidently possessed of a wholesome dread of boring his readers, for he advises those who do not care about battles to skip the chapter in which he describes the rout at Adowa. He is also very reticent on scientific matters, though he holds that no country would repay "the botanist, naturalist, geologist, or artist" better than Abyssinia (p. 3). On pp. 154, 155, for instance, he touches upon the remarkable similarity between several customs of the country and those in Layard's "Nineveh," and upon the monoliths at the former capital of Ethiopia ; but he goes on modestly to say, "I could write a great deal more about the ancient monuments of Axum, that have hitherto only been partially described, but it would be of little value," and he accordingly passes to the coronation there of the modern Kings. Thus, ever varying his theme, he brings us down to the two last chapters, which treat



of sport and the traveller's outfit. Ten appendices, an analytical index, and a map, complete the volume.—C.

C. ARTHUR PEARSON, LTD.; LONDON, 1901.

II. *Abyssinia: through the Lion-land to the Court of the Lion of Judah*, by HERBERT VIVIAN, M.A., author of "Tunisia and the Modern Barbary Pirates," "Servia: the Poor Man's Paradise," etc. The journey of the editor of the *Rambler* recalls in its way that of Horace to Brindisi. There is the same humorous appreciation of the discomforts of travel, and the very circumstances are at times so similar that the satire reads in places like a compressed version of the modern account. The poet and Mr. Vivian had to deal with equally objectionable water; flies rob the latter, as they once did the former, of the rest craved after the fatigue of the march; Abyssinian mulemen share with the *nauta*, among other traits, a tendency to lie down and go no farther except when forced. Such incidents are amusingly described by Mr. Vivian, who is a master of the art of word-painting, and his book is eminently readable throughout, as he is gifted with the same light touch even when dealing with serious subjects. The chief of these is the political outlook, on which he throws a new light. The interview with Menelek, and the message sent by the Negus to the English people through Mr. Vivian, sets at rest any doubts we may have had as to the Abyssinian attitude towards us. "'Tell them,' said His Majesty, 'that I have always desired their friendship and support, because I know that I may trust them. Other people often tell me things, which I find out afterwards are not true, or they promise things and do not perform them. But when an Englishman says anything to me, I know that I can believe him; when he promises anything, it is as good as done'" (p. 201). This is a vast improvement on the state of affairs a short time back, when the Abyssinians were disposed to look down upon us as the allies of beaten Italy, and Mr. Vivian attributes it to the sagacity of Captain Harrington, whose mission "has raised England to a position equal, if not superior, to that of her rivals in the eyes of Abyssinia. Flags show which way the wind blows, and it is significant that at Harrar the French and Russians have vainly craved leave to hoist their standards, while the British flag floats regularly as a matter of course over the British Consular Agency" (p. 324). It is also very satisfactory to learn that "perfect security . . . has been established without bloodshed or terrorism in British Somaliland" (p. 50), which is, moreover, "quite self-supporting" (p. 47); but it is not equally pleasant to read that the four Englishmen who have accomplished all this "would probably find more suitable appreciation at the hands of the Colonial Office" than under the Foreign Secretary (*ibid.*), and that we parted with the bulk of the country for nothing more than vague professions of friendship, for whose sake we handed over to Abyssinia great numbers of loyal Somalis (p. 324). To these, by the way, Mr. Vivian has taken a great liking. He calls them "the most charming of blacks," whom no one can help liking, and with whom it is impossible, in spite of their faults, to be angry long, and he thus deplores their treatment at Jibuti: "It was indeed heartrending to

find my dear Somalis transformed in this way, and I think that nothing . . . has ever convinced me so conclusively of the incapacity of the modern Frenchman as a ruler of men" (p. 324). Mr. Vivian has peculiar ideas as to outfit, but they are not as unreasonable on examination as they appear at first sight, and their novelty is decidedly refreshing. "Abyssinia" is plentifully illustrated, but many of the photographs might be clearer.—C.

12. *The Rubā'iyat of Omar Khayyam*, translated by EDWARD FITZGERALD, with a commentary by H. M. BATSON and a biographical introduction by E. D. ROSS. This well-printed and handy volume has been written with the object of helping those who may have difficulties in thoroughly understanding the poet. With this view, there is a concise and excellent introductory sketch of the life of the poet, and of the political and social condition of the times in which he lived. Mr. Ross has made good use of all the details, which are scant, so as to form one continuous narrative, and thus to elucidate the sentiments of the poet. He has divided his introduction into two parts—the first dealing with the history of Persia during the poet's lifetime, and the second containing all the information at present known from Oriental sources. The historical sketch is given as a frame to the portrait of the poet, so as partially to restore by scraping away from the little that remains of the original the incrustations of age and neglect. With respect to the second part, Mr. Ross has translated what appeared to him the most authoritative narratives, and has discussed with acuteness their merits. He then summarizes all the facts in the poet's life, which may be regarded as positive, and has added a list of all his supposed writings. The commentary is most useful. There is also a short and an interesting memoir of Fitzgerald. We cordially recommend this work.

JOHN MURRAY; ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON, 1901.

13. *Leading Points in South African History, 1486 to March 30, 1900*, arranged chronologically with date-index, by EDWIN A. PRATT, author of "Pioneer Women in Victoria's Reign," "Life of Catherine Gladstone," etc. The object of this handy and well-printed volume is to bring together the leading facts connected with the growth of the British Empire in South Africa, the action of the Boers, and the causes and events of the present war up to March of last year. The author begins with the discovery of the Cape in 1486, and proceeds in a concise manner to note the events since that period, and for convenience and facility of reference the heading of each event is printed in bold type. The index is specially valuable, as under copious headings the date is noted, so that by glancing at the chronological entry the reader will find very briefly stated the history or the event required. In short, it is a valuable book of reference in a most convenient form.

SKEFFINGTON AND SON; PICCADILLY, LONDON, 1900.

14. *The Order of Isis: a Story of Mystery and Adventure in Egypt*, by JAMES BAGNALL-STUBBS, author of "Ora pro Nobis," etc. This volume

gives us a supposed account of mysterious adventures befalling some English officers while in Egypt fighting against the Dervishes. The fancied Order of Isis has been offended, and has sworn to take revenge on the culprits. Isis, the mighty goddess of Egypt, Queen of Earth and Sky, has her chief temple under the Great Pyramid, and is there worshipped by her priests. Her wrath is being continually appeased by human sacrifices of young pure maidens. Isis, then, has determined on revenge, or, rather, she is prompted to do so, for she has only been indirectly offended, and the more direct sufferers do the work for her. The guilty officer's daughter is chosen to be the enviable bride of the "Great One," and is to atone for her father's guilt by slowly bleeding to death. She, as well as some officers on the search for valuable manuscripts, are accordingly captured, and spend some time in the great subterranean temple beneath the Great Pyramid. From there they are rescued just in time; but, still, Isis has her revenge. The unhappy Colonel, the object of her hatred, suddenly dies in a mysterious way.

There is also given a description of the supposed vast temple of the goddess, as well as of the circumstances attending her worship. The interest in the book is fairly well kept up by the strangeness of the events described and the sympathy which the reader may expect to feel for the several personalities introduced. The story, however, has no practical value.

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SMITH, ELDER AND CO. ; 15, WATERLOO PLACE, LONDON, 1901.

15. *British Power and Thought: a Historical Inquiry*, by the HON. ALBERT S. G. CANNING, author of "British Rule and Modern Politics," "History in Fact and Fiction," etc. The author in his investigations has examined an extensive area, and has come to the conclusion that where the foundation of religious belief is spiritual theism, that belief will ultimately influence and control the human race. He adduces in support of this opinion the religion of the Jews, Mohammedans, and Christianity in its various forms and sections. He says: "It is surely evident, at least to Europeans, that among these three religions lies the main secret of religious truth. . . . Judaism, the oldest faith in the world, which is verified by historical literature with its additions of Christianity and Mohammedanism, has steadily occupied the chief place in religious estimation among civilized races since the downfall of the classic paganism." But he acutely observes that, "unlike Christians, the Jews preserve no record of their co-religionists who died for their faith. No Jewish saints or martyrs are historically celebrated. While Christian history abounds with traditions of its saints and martyrs, while even Mohammedans celebrate with pious enthusiasm the martial glories and perilous escapes of their heroic prophet, the days of Jewish triumph seem never commemorated"; and he maintains by able analysis and extensive research that, "in a political sense, Christianity was never so supreme as at the present time, nor yet so generally tolerant towards every other religion, both in theory and practice." In this able and thoughtful treatise the author concludes that "the British nation has

achieved the highest practical success, ruling with consistent justice millions of subjects professing nearly all the religions now known to exist in the world. Wise legislation, combining justice with mercy in one race of men ruling millions of others, would seem indeed the most generally beneficial result of any religious belief. This result, it may be confidently hoped, the British nation has in great measure accomplished wherever its wide and increasing influence prevails." In support of these important conclusions we must refer our readers to the various arguments contained in the volume itself.

#### OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

*Map of Armenia and Adjacent Countries* (E. Stanford, Long Acre, London, W.C.). This is a magnificent map, giving the area 15.78 miles to the inch. The Russian area is based upon the Russian official survey, the Turkish area upon Mr. Lynch's surveys and notes, the map of the Turko-Persian frontier made by Russian and English officers in 1849-55, and much new material hitherto unpublished. Altitudes, railways, rivers, valleys, mountains, hills, lakes, castles, villages, churches, monasteries, ruins, are all carefully marked and beautifully coloured. The material has been carefully compiled by W. Shawe, F.R.G.S. This map accompanies the first volume of Mr. Lynch's admirable work on his travels and studies in Armenia, published by Messrs. Longmans, Green, and Co., London.

*The Prevention of Epidemic Zymotic Diseases in India and the Tropics generally*, by C. GODFREY GÜMPPEL (London: Watts and Co., 17, Johnson's Court, Fleet Street). This treatise was referred to in our last issue (p. 344). We trust it will have a large circulation. The subject is important, especially in India and the tropics generally.

*New South Wales*. Statistics, history, and resources, issued by the authority of the Government of New South Wales, compiled by the editor of "The Year-Book of Australia," for circulation by the Agent-General in London. A most useful compilation. We referred to the subject of the position and growth of New South Wales in our issue for April (see pp. 409, 410).

*Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, showing the Operations, Expenditure, and Condition of the Institution for the Year ending June 30, 1898*. Report of the United States National Museum, Washington (Government Printing-Office, 1900). This valuable volume contains not only a report of the present condition of this great national institution, but also the work that has been accomplished in the various departments during the year; also a detailed account, with numerous illustrations, of the crocodilians, lizards, and snakes of North America, by Edward Drinker Cope, A.M., PH.D., Professor of Zoology and Comparative Anatomy in the University of Pennsylvania, and Member of the United States National Academy of Sciences. The volume consists of 1,294 pages.

*The Campaign in the Free State, and its Lessons*, by MAJOR J. E. CAUNTER, Lancashire Fusiliers, Professor of Tactics Royal Military College (Gale and Polden, Ltd., 2, Amen Corner, London; Wellington Works, Aldershot). This is a well-written pamphlet, giving a rapid sketch of the various movements of our troops in South Africa up to March 13, 1900, and indicating some useful lessons for our guidance in the future training of our soldiers. The author is of opinion that we must train our men "to act on their own initiative and individual responsibility. Every man must be informed of the object of the movement, and how it is proposed to carry it out," and so trained that "he will be ready at any moment to think and act for himself"; also that "our mounted infantryman must be a first-class marksman and skirmisher," and be possessed of a more thorough knowledge of the care and management of horses.

*"Die Entwicklung Asiens": the Development of Asia from the Oldest Times up to the Present*, by DR. ALBRECHT WIRTH (Frankfurt on the Main: Moritz Diesterweg). A valuable and most useful work, in pamphlet form, of seventy-five pages, with a good map.

*Nankin d'alors et d'aujourd'hui. Nankin Port Ouvert*, by LE P. LOUIS GAILLARD, S.J., avec un portrait de l'auteur, deux vues de Nankin en photogravure et plusieurs cartes (Shanghai: Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique, 1901). We hope to be able to notice this valuable historical work in our next number. The late P. Gaillard gives a missionary view of the Chinese Question from a Roman Catholic standpoint.

*The Native Labour Question in the Transvaal; being Extracts from the Industrial Commission of Inquiry*. Report and Proceedings published in Johannesburg in 1897 (London: P. S. King and Son, Great Smith Street, Westminster, June, 1901). The secretary of the Aborigines' Society has compiled these extracts with the view of regulating native labour. The pamphlet, in a handy form, represents the various questions arising from the Pass, the Gold, and the Liquor Laws of 1826. In a short introduction, Mr. Fox-Bourne concludes as follows: "The proposals of the Commission, quoted in the concluding pages of the pamphlet, as regards the establishment of a Government department for the procuring and supplying of native labour for use in the gold-mines, and of a Local Board by which the employers could practically control the action of the Government in the matter of labour representation, are especially noteworthy, seeing that, having been disregarded by the authorities of the South African Republic, they are now being zealously and imperiously urged upon the present administrators of the Transvaal." With this view Parliament and the public will find this pamphlet exceedingly useful.

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We beg to acknowledge also the receipt of: George Newnes, Ltd.: *The Captain* for April, May, and June—*The Wide World Magazine* for April, May, and June—*The Sunday Strand Magazine* for April, May, and June—*The Strand Magazine* for April, May, and June—*Family Stories*, No. 1, "The Unmasking of Lady Helen" and "Lady Drummond's Secret"—*The Life of a Century*, 1800—1900, Parts 6, 7, and 8;—*Royalties*

of the World, Parts 3, 4, and 5—*Britannia's Bulwarks*, Parts 1, 2, 3: to be completed in about fourteen fortnightly parts;—*The Indian Review* for March, April, and May (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*Minerva, Rivista delle Riviste* (Rome);—*Biblia*, a monthly journal of Oriental research (Meriden, Conn., U.S.A.);—*The Contemporary Review* (London, the Columbus Co., Ltd., Fetter Lane);—*The Indian Magazine and Review* (London, Archibald Constable and Co.);—*Questions Diplomatiques et Coloniales*, April, May, June (Paris);—*Le Bulletin des Sommaires, Revue de la Presse* (Paris);—*Public Opinion*, the American weekly (New York);—*The Living Age* (Boston, U.S.A.);—*The Monist* (the Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, U.S.A., and Kegan Paul and Co., London);—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*The Harvest Field* (Foreign Missions Club, London);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (the Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (London, 38, Conduit Street, W.);—*The Light of Truth, or Siddhanta Deepika* (Black Town, Madras);—*The Madras Review*;—*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* (continuing "Hebraica"), (University of Chicago Press);—*Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (Alfred Hölder, Vienna);—*Canadian Journal of Fabrics* (Toronto and Montreal);—*Revue Tunisienne* (Tunis, Imprimerie rapide);—*The Canadian Engineer* (Toronto, Biggar Samuel and Co.);—*Sphinx, revue critique embrassant le domaine entier de l'Égyptologie*, by Karl Piehl (Upsala, C. J. Lundström; London, Williams and Norgate);—*Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa* (Lisbon, Imprensa nacional);—*The Review of Reviews*;—*The Kayastha Samachar*, a monthly record and review, edited by Sachchidananda Sinha, B.A.L. (The Imperial Press, Allahabad);—*The Imperial Institute Journal* (Waterlow and Sons, Ltd., London);—*The Cornhill*;—*Climate* (Travellers' Health Bureau, London; 133, Salisbury Square, E.C.; and Simpkin, Marshall and Co.);—*The Zoophilist and Animals' Defender*;—*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, quarterly, first year (F. H. Schneider, editeur, Rue du Coton, Hanoi, Tongking);—*Journal of the United Service Institution of India*, April, 1901, No. 143 (Government Central Printing-Office, Simla);—*Report on the Administration of the Local Boards in the Bombay Presidency, including Sind, 1899-1900* (Bombay, Government Central Press);—*Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India for the Year ending June 30, 1900*, price 9d. (Luzac and Co.);—*Album de Estatística graphica dos Caminhos de Ferro Portuguezes das Provincias Ultramarinas* (Ministerio da Marinha e Ultramar, Lisbon);—*Die Kultur* (Vienna and Stuttgart);—*Keleti Szemle*;—*Revue Orientale pour les Études ouralo-altaïques* (Budapest, and Otto Harrassowitz, Leipzig);—*Conciliation in the Cotton Trade, Report of Negotiations, 1899-1900, and Press Comments* (Conciliation Scheme Committee, 22, St. Mary's Gate, Manchester, 1901).

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We regret that want of space obliges us to postpone reviews of the following works till our next issue: *Le Rig-Vêda, texte et traduction, neuvième Mandala*, *Le culte védique du Soma*, by Paul Regnaud, Professor

of the University of Lyon (Paris, J. Maisonneuve, libraire-editeur, 6, rue de Mézières, et rue Madame, 26, 1900);—*In the Far East: Letters from Geraldine Guinness* (now Mrs. Howard Taylor) *from the Mediterranean to the Po-yang Lake, China*, 1888-1889, and *Most Recent Experiences* (London, Morgan and Scott, Paternoster Buildings, E.C.; China Inland Mission, Newington Green, N., 1901);—*The Aitareya and Taittiriya Upanishads and Sri Sankara's Commentary*, translated by S. Sitarama Sastri, B.A. (Madras, G. A. Natesan and Co., 1901);—*The Settlement after the War in South Africa*, by M. J. Farrelly, LL.D.; and *Four Months Besieged, the Story of Ladysmith; being Unpublished Letters from H. S. S. Pearse*, the *Daily News* Special Correspondent (Macmillan and Co., Ltd., London, 1900);—*The Practical Study of Languages: a Guide for Teachers and Learners*, by Henry Sweet, M.A., PH.D., LL.D. (London, J. M. Dent and Co., 1899); *Australasia, Old and New*, by J. Grattan Grey, author of "His Island Home," etc. (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1901);—*The Chinese Crisis from Within*, by Wen Ching, edited by Rev. G. M. Reith, M.A., Edinburgh (London, Grant Richards, 1901);—*China under the Searchlight*, by Wm. Arthur Cornaby, editor of the *Chung-si-chiao-hui-pao* (London, T. Fisher Unwin, 1901);—*China and the Allies*, by A. Henry Savage Landor, in two volumes (London, William Heinemann, 1901);—*Armenia: Travels and Studies*, by H. F. B. Lynch, in two volumes (London, Longmans, Green and Co., 1901);—*The Civilizing Race*, by E. M. Bense (London, Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co., Ltd., 1901);—*Three Lectures on the Vedānta Philosophy, delivered at the Royal Institution in March, 1894*, by the Right Hon. F. Max Müller, K.M. (London, Longmans, Green and Co., 1901);—*The Land of the Moors: a Comprehensive Description*, by Budgett Meakin (Swan Sonnenschein and Co., London);—*Madagascar, Mauritius, and the other Eastern African Islands*, by Professor Dr. C. Keller (Swan Sonnenschein and Co., London);—*A Handbook for Travellers in India, Burma, and Ceylon*; fourth edition (Thacker, Spink and Co., Calcutta; John Murray, London); *In Tibet and Chinese Turkestan*, by Captain H. H. P. Deasy (T. Fisher Unwin, Paternoster Square, London).

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA : GENERAL.—The Viceroy paid a visit in April last to the Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh. His minute on "Frontier Administration," dated August 27, 1900, has been presented to Parliament, which with other documents forms an important Blue-Book, entitled "East India : North-West Frontier." (See under our "Correspondence, Notes, and News.")

The King has been pleased to approve of the appointment of Mr. A. T. Arundel, C.S.I., a member of the Council of the Governor of Madras, to be a member of the Council of the Governor-General of India in succession to Sir Arthur C. Trevor, K.C.S.I., who is retiring.

About 40 lacs of rupees have already been collected for the Victoria "Memorial Hall," which is estimated to cost 50 lacs. Any surplus will be devoted to some charitable object of a national character.

The Plague still continues, the greatest mortality occurring in Bengal ; next, respectively, the Panjāb, Bombay City, Bombay Presidency, the North-West Provinces, Karachi City, Calcutta, Kashmir, Mysore, and Madras.

There are still over 480,000 persons in receipt of famine relief, of whom 384,000 are in the Bombay Presidency.

The Secretary of State has sanctioned a scheme for an ethnographical survey of British India.

The large reduction in parcels postage, lately sanctioned, came into force on July 1.

The monsoon has burst.

INDIA : FRONTIER.—The Mahsud Waziris have paid over 70,000 rupees of the fine of 100,000 rupees. Further payments have fallen off owing to inter-tribal disputes. The blockade will be continued till the whole is paid, which will probably not be before August or September. The new Waziristan militia having shown their worth, have been entrusted with the charge of several posts in connection with the blockade.

The new Frontier Province boundaries include Hazara, Peshawar, and Kohat intact, and the Trans-Indus portions of Bannu, except the Isakhel *Tahsil*, and of Dera Ismail Khan, except a piece of the Kasrani Baluch country. The Panjāb will make a new district, including Mianwali, out of the Cis-Indus portions of Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan, the Commissioner of Derajat being retained as Commissioner of Multan. The financial questions are now being worked out.

The Mir of Hunza intends to build a school at Hunza in memory of Queen Victoria.

Much damage was caused in May last by floods to crops and buildings in the Khaibar region. The road was damaged, and in the Bara Valley and Tirah a considerable number of cattle were drowned. The Dir-Chitral road was also damaged.

INDIA : NATIVE STATES.—His Highness Sir Waghji Ravaji, the Thakur Sahib of Morvi (Kathiawar), is about to erect a hospital in his capital as a



memorial of the late Queen-Empress. The expense will amount to two lacs of rupees.

His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda, after his return from Europe, made a tour in Upper India.

BURMA.—The Lieutenant-Governor of Burma, Sir F. Fryer, formally opened on June 1 the Gokteik viaduct and railway to Thibaw.

CEYLON.—The population of the island on April 1 last, including 4,735 Boer prisoners, was 3,596,170, against 3,012,224 in 1891.

AFGHANISTAN.—A letter from Kabul states that the Amir is again suffering from gout. His sons, Habibullah Khan and Nasrullah Khan, were conducting State business under their father's guidance.

BALUCHISTAN.—Trade has been active during the last seventeen months between Quetta and Eastern Persia, and the financial returns for the last year show a total value of £88,300, or an increase of £45,000 during the twelve months. The tea-planters in India are sending a caravan of camels carrying 32,000 lb. of tea *viâ* Nuskhi as an experiment.

Enormous swarms of locusts have appeared in the Kohlu and Barkhan *tahsils* of the Duki district, and also in the Kach Kawas circle of the Shahrig *tahsil* and the Musa Khel country.

PERSIA.—The Shah has appointed his second son, Shujā-es-Saltaneh, who was born in 1850, to be Governor-General of the province of Fars, and his third son, Salar-ed-daulah, Governor of Arabistan.

The Government has increased the duty from 3 and 4 per cent. to 5 per cent. on all Russian goods imported into Persia. Persian merchandise exported to Russia will also be subject to a 5 per cent. duty. In order to check the export of provisions from Persia into Russia, the Government has also introduced a high duty on such commodities.

PERSIAN GULF.—Mábrouk, the Sheikh of Koweit, who recently conquered the kingdom of Nejd, in Central Arabia, and deposed its ruler, Bin Rashid, has been defeated by the latter in a battle in which 5,000 men are said to have fallen.

TURKEY IN ASIA.—The Amir of Bokhara has given the sum of £17,000 as a contribution to the fund that is being raised for the construction of a railway from Damascus to Mecca.

The situation in North-Eastern Anatolia having become much worse, the Sultan has recalled the Valis of Kastamuni, Erzerum, and Diarbekr.

The Porte has agreed to the payment of indemnities amounting to £63,000 to British subjects for losses suffered by them during the Armenian massacres of 1896.

CHINA.—The Yang-tsze Viceroy having memorialized the Throne in the strongest terms against signing the Manchurian Convention with Russia, the Court has rejected it. Li Hung Chang's policy is based on the conviction that Russia is the only Power China need fear, and that there are several secret agreements already existing, and is convinced that she must ultimately sign the Convention.

The Ministers of all the Powers, excepting Russia, have presented for punishment a list of the provincial officials concerned in the murders of missionaries and their families. The list has been accepted.

The Ministers in Peking having addressed a collective Note to China informing her that the amount of the joint indemnity had been fixed at 450,000,000 taels, asked her to state by what means she proposes to meet the payments. To this China replied that, while willing to pay the amount, she objects to pay interest at 4 per cent.

The Chinese Ministers, in regard to the reform of the Tsung-li-Yamên and the modification of Court ceremonial, have agreed that, in place of the former, there shall be a Wai-wu-pu, or Board of Foreign Affairs, which shall have precedence over all other Boards. It will consist of a President (who shall be an Imperial Prince) and two Ministers (one being the President of the Board and the other a member of the Grand Council), with direct access to the Emperor. There will also be two Vice-Ministers having knowledge of foreign affairs, one of whom, at least, must be able to speak a foreign language. The Privy Council has been abolished and a new Board substituted, which will be known as the General Board of State Affairs. The President is Prince Ching; other members are Li Hung Chang, Yung Lu, Kun-kang, Wang Wen-shao, and Lu Chuen-lin, three being Manchus and three Chinese. The Viceroys Liu Kun-yi and Chang Chih-tung have been appointed associate members.

A very serious famine exists in the province of Shansi. Over 11,000,000 of the population are affected.

In April and May an encounter took place between the Germans and Chinese near the Great Wall, in which the latter suffered heavily and were completely routed. The British troops have captured sixteen Krupp guns (all in excellent condition) and sixty-seven carts of ammunition at Kai-ping, between Ta-ku and Shan-hai-kwan.

The Chinese Government having agreed to the main points of the indemnity question, and being anxious to resume authority at Peking, the German forces have arranged to leave. The French have withdrawn from Chi-li, the Japanese have reduced their force by 9,000 men and the British by 3,000. The rest of the troops remain. The return of the Court is certain.

KOREA.—The Government has decided to borrow from France the sum of 15,000,000 *yen* for the construction of a railway from Seoul to Wi-ju.

The Government has leased to Japan the land at Ma-san-pho, which Russia was anxious to acquire.

JAPAN.—The total trade of Japan last year was over 49,750,000 sterling, against a little over 44,000,000 £. in the previous year. The imports were of the value of 29,000,000 £., against 22,250,000 £.; and the exports 20,750,000 £., against 21,750,000 £.

The Government issued in May 6,000,000 *yen* of Exchequer bills, bearing interest at  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., and repayable, both principal and interest, in six months in order to defray the cost of the China campaign.

The Cabinet resigned early in May in consequence of a disagreement about the prosecution of certain State enterprises. Viscount Katsura has succeeded in forming the following Cabinet: Mr. Sone Arosuke, Temporary Minister for Foreign Affairs; Mr. Kiyoura Keigo, Justice; Mr. Kikuchi, Education; Mr. Hirata Toske, Agriculture; Mr. Utsumi Tadakatsu,

Home Affairs ; Viscount Yoshikawa, Communications ; General Kodama and Admiral Yamamoto will continue to act as Ministers of War and Marine respectively.

Over twenty banks have suspended payment in Osaka and the southern and central provinces. The Bank of Japan has rendered assistance, but a financial panic prevails.

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.—Aguinaldo, the insurgent leader, having been captured with all his staff, he has issued a manifesto to the Filipinos, declaring his allegiance to the United States. The American Commissioners signalized the occasion by releasing and returning to their homes 1,000 prisoners of war.

As a result of recent negotiations, General Mascardo has surrendered with 21 officers and 321 men.

EGYPT.—The receipts of the Suez Canal for 1900 amounted to 93,000,000 *f.*, and the net profit 52,000,000 *f.* The total number of vessels which passed through in 1900 was 3,441 of 9,738,152 net tons, against 3,607 vessels of 9,895,630 net tons in 1899. Of these vessels 1,935 of 5,605,421 net tons were British, against 2,310 vessels of 6,586,310 net tons in 1899. The amount encashed during the month of May for the service of the Unified Debt was £E213,000, and that for the Preference Debt for the same period was £E122,000. H.H. the Khedive has pardoned Arabi Pasha and Mustafa Fehmi, who have returned to Egypt from Ceylon.

SOMALILAND.—Lieutenant-Colonel Swayne, Staff Corps, in April last, organized in the neighbourhood of Berbera an expedition consisting of two corps of Somali levies, commanded by British officers, against the Somali Mahdi or "Mad Mulla." The latter was driven back towards the territory of Dolbohauti (British Somaliland). An advance guard of a force of Abyssinians having found the Mulla at Walwal, he retreated to the Dolbohauti camp. Thousands of camels, ponies, and sheep were captured. A force, called the Somaliland Field Force, reached Ber on May 22, its object being to oppose the Jama Siad tribes, who are fanatical supporters of the "Mulla."

The Ogaden Somalis have been allowed time to pay the fine for the murder of Mr. Jenner.

EAST AFRICA AND UGANDA.—The railway has now been made for over 500 miles, and the line is expected to be completed by June, 1902.

Sir Harry Johnston, the Special Commissioner for Uganda, has visited Lord Cromer at Cairo before going to England. The local revenue of the last financial year was double the amount estimated.

RHODESIA.—The Chartered Company has offered 100,000 acres of land to induce Australian and other colonial farmers to settle in the country.

There has been fighting between the Company's Police and a number of natives in the north-east, in which the latter were severely defeated. The trouble arose from bands of natives under the chief Mponda raiding in the country round Fort Darwin, north of the Mazoe district, near the Anglo-Portuguese boundary.

Contracts have been signed for over 500 miles of railway, connecting all parts of the country with Bulawayo, which will be a junction.

**NATAL.**—The Budget has proved to be of a very satisfactory character. The expenditure next year is estimated at £4,384,335, including loan expenditure to the amount of a million and a half. The volunteers had cost £360,218, which the colony will pay. The imports have increased 10 per cent. Exports have decreased owing to the war.

A loan has been announced of £3,000,000 for railways, harbours, and other reproductive works.

**CAPE COLONY.**—The imports into the Colony last year amounted to £17,000,000, of which £11,000,000 represented imports from the United Kingdom. The exports amounted to £7,646,682, of which £6,854,175 was to the United Kingdom.

The trade returns for the quarter ending with March last show an increase in imports of £1,654,000, and in exports of £1,318,825, compared with the corresponding period of last year.

The King has conferred the dignity of a peerage of the United Kingdom upon Sir Alfred Milner, G.C.B., etc., His Majesty's High Commissioner for South Africa and Administrator of the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies.

**SOUTH AFRICA.**—The combined movements of several columns, organized by Lord Kitchener, have resulted in the defeat of the enemy and the splitting up and dispersal of many commandos in Northern Transvaal, and the wresting of the Pietersburg base from the Boers.

Carolina and its neighbourhood has been occupied by British troops for the fifth time, Sir Bindon Blood having arrived there with General Campbell's column. Columns under General W. Kitchener and Colonel Pulteney are in touch with him to the south, Colonel Benson to the east, while General Bullock occupies Ermelo. The summary of work done by the Commander-in-Chief during the period from May 1 to June 10 shows that the various British columns have reduced the Boer fighting strength in various ways by over 3,000 men. Four thousand horses and over 1,000 waggons were captured in the same period.

In Cape Colony there are still several commandos, notably in the vicinity of Sterkstroom, Stormberg, Molteno, and Dordrecht. General French has been ordered to deal with them. A commando under Kruitziuger attacked Jamestown on June 2, and overpowered the small guard of volunteers before our pursuing columns could come up, and looted the place. The commando was pursued, and most of the plunder and many waggons were recaptured.

At Vlakfontein, near Naauwpoort, in the Transvaal, Delarey attacked Brigadier-General Dixon's column, consisting of 1,450 men and seven guns. The enemy were repulsed with loss. Our casualties were heavy: 6 officers and 51 men killed, and 6 officers and 115 men wounded.

Commandant Van Rensburg and his commando have surrendered at Pietersburg.

**WEST AFRICA.**—Darri Banna Darbo and Nfali Darbo, having been found guilty of complicity in the murder of British Commissioners at Sankandi, have been hanged at Dumbuto.

**ALGERIA.**—A somewhat serious Arab rising has occurred. A tribe

known as the Beni Ben Asser sacked the village of Marguerite, fifty miles from Algiers, and killed many of the inhabitants. They have been driven into the mountains. Marguerite is now occupied by troops.

AUSTRALASIA.—Their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall, in the *Ophir*, reached Albany (Western Australia) on April 30, and proceeded the same day for Melbourne, where they arrived on May 5. On the following day their Royal Highnesses drove to Government House by a route seven miles in length, through enthusiastic crowds. The Duke held a levée on the 7th, and subsequently received addresses from public bodies. At night the city was illuminated. On May 9 His Royal Highness opened in the Exhibition Building the first Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia. The following day there was a review of about 15,000 sailors and soldiers in the presence of about 100,000 spectators.

On the 13th Ballarat was visited. Leaving Melbourne on May 18, the Royal couple travelled by train across Victoria and New South Wales to Brisbane, which place was reached on May 20, and where they had a very enthusiastic welcome. On the 21st the Duke reviewed 4,000 troops at Lytton Plain. Sydney was next visited, where a stay of ten days was made. From here they proceeded to Auckland, New Zealand, where they had an enthusiastic reception. At Rotorna on June 13 they were heartily welcomed by the Maoris.

In all the States of the Commonwealth, the elections to the Federal Parliament have turned on the fiscal question. In Queensland the principal question was the continuance of black labour on sugar plantations.

The House of Representatives is composed of 34 Protectionists, 6 supporters of a Moderate tariff, 1 Labour Protectionist, 25 Free-traders, 5 Labour Free-traders, 1 Labour Moderate, and 3 Labour representatives unpronounced on the tariff question.

The population of the whole of Australasia is 4,550,651, being an increase of 740,756 since the last census.

NEW SOUTH WALES.—The Cabinet is constituted as follows: Mr. John See, Premier and Colonial Secretary; Mr. Wise, Attorney-General; the Hon. E. W. O'Sullivan, Public Works; the Hon. John Perry, Education; The Hon. Patrick Crick, Secretary for Lands; Mr. T. Waddell, Treasury; Mr. J. Kidd, Mines; Mr. R. Fitzgerald, Justice; the Hon. F. B. Suttor, Vice-President of the Executive Council.

With a view to giving publicity to the resources of the State, Government is arranging an exhibition of the products of the country, to be held at the Imperial Institute at an early date.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.—The new Ministry has been constituted as follows: Mr. Jenkins, Premier, Chief Secretary, and Minister Controlling the Northern Territory; Mr. Gordon, Attorney-General; Mr. Butler, Treasurer, and Minister of Agriculture; Mr. L. O'Loughlin, Commissioner of Crown Lands; Mr. Foster, Public Works; Mr. Brooker, Minister of Education and Industry; Mr. Shannon, Government Whip.

Mr. Grainger has been appointed Agent-General in England in place of Sir J. A. Cockburn, who has retired.

The wheat yield is returned at 11,263,148 bushels, being an increase of 3,000,000 bushels on last year's yield.

The census returns for the State show that the population is 362,595, being an increase of 13 per cent. since 1891.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.—The new Ministry is composed as follows: Mr. G. Leake, Prime Minister and Attorney-General; Mr. F. Illingworth, Colonial Treasurer and Secretary; Mr. J. J. Holmes, Commissioner of Railways; Mr. W. Kingsmill, Public Works; Mr. H. Gregory, Mines; Mr. C. Sommers, Lands.

VICTORIA.—The census shows that the present population of the colony is 1,195,874, showing an increase for the past decade of 55,469.

A loan of £500,000 at 3 per cent. has been raised locally.

TASMANIA.—The revenue for the first four months of the current year amounted to £321,000, as compared with £346,000 in the same period of last year.

Sir Arthur E. Havelock, G.C.S.I., etc., late Governor of Madras, has been appointed Governor of the State of Tasmania and its dependencies.

QUEENSLAND.—The Treasury returns show that the excess of revenue over expenditure for the ten months of the financial year amounts to £145,000.

The census returns show the population of the State to be 502,892, being an increase of 100,000 over the last return.

NEW SOUTH WALES.—At a monster meeting of Protestants in the Sydney Town Hall, a strong protest was made against any alteration in the Coronation Oath or the King's Declaration.

NEW ZEALAND.—A Government 4 per cent. loan of £500,000 has been subscribed twice over in the colony. The average price was 1s. above par.

The total revenue receipts are £6,012,267, while the expenditure amounts to £5,479,703.

The census return for the population of the entire colony is 773,000 persons, being an increase of 147,000 in ten years. In addition there are 43,000 Maoris, making, with the white population, a total of 816,000.

CANADA.—Great floods occurred in April last; railway communication was interrupted in the eastern part by the washing away of bridges.

On May 14 the Dominion House of Commons voted an annual subsidy of \$100,000 to a direct steamship line between Canada and France. Half the vessels will be under the British and half under the French flag, so that the line will earn subsidies from both countries.

The Government's proposals for the establishment in Ottawa of a branch of the Royal Mint passed the Dominion House of Commons unanimously. The Canadian gold coinage will be minted, as well as silver and copper coins. Heretofore there has been no Canadian gold coinage.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—A settlement of the French shore difficulty seems improbable. It is understood that the French make access to the bait supply an essential condition of any arrangement, which the colony is unwilling to grant.

The Legislature was opened in May by Chief Justice Little, the Ad-

ministrator, who stated that the fisheries last year were successful, and the seal fishing this year had been very successful. The mines had yielded handsome returns, and lumbering showed a marked increase. The revenue from the Customs was in excess of the amount estimated. The tariff would be revised, and some of the taxes on the necessities of life would be reduced.

*Obituary.*—The deaths have been recorded during the past quarter of the following:—Lieutenant-Colonel W. H. Holbech, King's Royal Rifle Corps and a member of H.M.'s Bodyguard of Gentlemen-at-Arms (Red River expedition 1870, Egypt 1882);—Lieutenant-Colonel Vaughan Jenkins, late West Riding Regiment (Miranzai expedition);—Colonel G. E. Francis, late 20th Regiment (Indian Mutiny campaign);—Lieutenant-Colonel H. F. Hornsby, late 102nd Royal Madras Fusiliers (Indian Mutiny campaign);—Dr. John Dudgeon, of the London Missionary Society, at Peking;—H.H. the Maharaja Sri Sir Kesrisinghji Jawant-singhji, K.C.S.I., ruling chief of Idar;—Hon. W. H. S. Osmand, member of the Legislative Council, Victoria, one of the earliest settlers and largest landowners in Australia;—Major G. N. Micklethwait (Sutlej 1846, Crimea);—Rev. J. L. Roger, Baptist minister at Stanley Pool, Congo;—Surgeon-General Albert Augustus Gore, C.B., late Army Medical Staff (West Africa, Sierra Leone 1861, Ashanti 1873, Egypt, Chitral and North-West Frontier Campaigns 1896 and 1897);—Major-General D. J. F. Newall, late Royal (Bengal) Artillery (Sutlej 1846, Panjāb campaign 1848-49, Waziri expedition 1859-60, Derband expedition 1863-64);—Colonel R. W. Peacock Robertson (Afghan war 1878-80);—Major-General H. S. Rammell, late Madras Staff Corps;—Colonel Geddes Sansoni Tynnam, late Ceylon Rifles, 61st Regiment, and 13th Light Infantry (Delhi 1857);—Lieutenant-Colonel A. C. Hunter, Captain Bombay Staff Corps;—Colonel Robert Cadell, late Bengal Staff Corps (Crimea, Indian Mutiny campaign);—Major-General F. T. A. Law, C.B. (Crimea, China 1860, Kafir war 1878, Zulu war 1879);—Brigade Surgeon-Major J. C. Johnston (Crimea);—Major G. A. Keef, Royal Scots Fusiliers (Mahsud Waziri expedition 1881, Bechuanaland 1884-85, Burmese war 1885-87);—Commander Hugh Cotesworth, R.N. (Zulu war);—Dr. R. Martin Dane, C.B., Inspector-General Army Medical Department (Panjāb campaign 1848-49, China 1858);—General J. Cockburn Hood, C.B., late Bengal Staff Corps (Panjāb campaign 1848-49, Indian Mutiny campaign);—Dr. Schlichter, a well-known African traveller and geographer;—General F. W. Baugh, formerly Bengal Infantry (Afghan campaign 1842, Sutlej, Burmese war 1853, Indian Mutiny campaign 1857-58);—Major-General H. E. Whish, late Bengal Staff Corps (siege of Multan 1849, Mutiny);—Sir Henry Wilmot, K.C.B., V.C. (Mutiny campaign, China 1860-61);—Colonel W. Agg, late 51st King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry (Burmese war 1850-53);—Nawab Hassan 'Ali Khān, C.I.E., for many years British agent at Shiraz, and lately Assistant Oriental Secretary to the British Legation at Teheran;—Vice-Admiral Charles Murray-Aynsley, C.B. (Baltic and Black Seas);—Colonel H. D'Oyly Farrington, formerly 73rd Highlanders and Black

Watch (Indian Mutiny);—Major-General H. A. Brett, late Oxfordshire Light Infantry (Mutiny campaign 1857-59, New Zealand war 1864-65);—Colonel George Fleming, C.B., LL.D. (Crimea, North China 1860);—Major-General Montagu Millet (Mutiny campaign);—Colonel R. F. Oakes, R.E. (Madras, Burmese war 1852-53);—Lieutenant-Colonel G. L. O'Sullivan (Zulu war 1879);—Lieutenant-Colonel H. Armytage, late Coldstream Guards (Crimea);—Major-General Sir William Crossman;—Mr. H. P. White, late British Consul at Tangier;—Major E. H. S. Twyford, 2nd Battalion the Cameronians, killed in South Africa (Chin-Lushai expeditionary force, Ladysmith relief force);—Mr. Justice Oliver Smith, senior Puisne Judge, Supreme Court of Mauritius;—Sheth Mahadhuboy Ranchordlal, a prominent and wealthy Shethia of Ahmedābād;—Lieutenant-Colonel Kenneth Mackean, C.R.E., at Belfast (Zulu war 1879);—Mr. Horace Phillips White, late H.M.'s Consular Agent, Tangier;—Colonel Hampden Acton, late Madras Staff Corps (China 1842, Burmese war 1852-53);—Lieutenant-Colonel A. A. Boggs, late Border, Worcester and East Yorkshire Regiments (Bhutan expedition 1865);—Shrimat Rajchandra Ravjibhai, an eminent Jain philosopher and a well-known Shatavadhani poet of Gujerāt;—The Raja of Gudwal, a very old wealthy zamindār of Haidarābād;—Lieutenant-General G. E. L. S. Sanford, C.B., C.S.I., R.E. (China war of 1858, Jowaki campaign, Afghan war, Burmese expedition, 1885-86);—Captain G. E. D. Manley, R.M.L.I. (China 1900-1901);—Major H. B. Patton-Bethune, 3rd (King's Own) Hussars (Boer war 1881, Egypt 1882);—Captain A. D. Fraser, 19th Battalion Imperial Yeomanry, late 92nd Highlanders (Afghan war 1879-80, Boer war 1881, Nile expedition 1884-85);—Mr. Justice King, of the Supreme Court of Canada;—Sir Dinshaw Manockji Petit, a well-known Parsi philanthropist;—Major-General F. W. Lambton (Crimea, Central Indian campaign 1858-59);—Major-General C. E. D. Hill, late Royal Madras Engineers, and formerly of H. E. I. Co.'s Service;—Major-General F. J. Davies, Bengal Infantry (Punjab);—Major-General F. Allen, formerly Bengal Staff Corps (Sonthal campaign 1855-56, Bhutan expedition 1865);—Colonel W. T. Mills, late Bombay Staff Corps (Mutiny campaign);—Colonel J. H. Bernard, C.B., C.M.G. (Hazara campaign 1868, Ashanti war, 1873-74, Afghan war 1879-80, Sudan expedition 1885);—Captain H. D. Daly, I.S.C. (Egypt 1882, Burma 1886-87, Chin Hills expedition 1892-93);—Nawāb Jalāl-ul-Mulk, foster-brother of Sir Sālār Jang I.;—General J. Kempt Couper, Indian Staff Corps (Sutlej campaign 1846);—Sir Arthur Strachey, Chief Justice Allahabad High Court;—Sir Henry J. Jourdain, K.C.M.G., formerly member Council of Government, Mauritius;—Major T. A. Butler, V.C., late 101st Royal Munster Fusiliers (Mutiny campaign, North-West Frontier war 1863);—Mr. J. Maxwell, I.C.S., Magistrate of Patna City;—Colonel Cedric Maxwell, R.E., in South Africa (Afghan war 1878-80, Zhob Valley 1884);—Admiral Sir John E. Commerell, V.C., G.C.B. (Baltic and Black Seas 1854-55, China 1859);—Ex-President Pretorius of the Transvaal and late Orange River State;—Major-General William Creagh (Panjab campaign 1848-49, Mutiny 1857-58, Afghan campaign 1879-80);—Colonel J. A. Stewart, of the Royal Body Guard (Syria 1840, West Coast of



Africa 1841, Japan 1864);—Mr. F. C. Fisher, Ceylon Civil Service;—Lieutenant-Colonel A. C. Greville (Kafir war 1851-53, Crimea);—Lieutenant-Colonel C. Cunningham, R.E. (Abyssinia 1868);—Major A. W. D. Maclean, 2nd Battalion Connaught Rangers (Zulu campaign);—General Digby Willoughby (Zulu campaign 1880);—Commander H. Packe, R.N. (Lagos 1851, Crimea, China 1860);—Dr. Andrew Garran, M.L.C., LL.D., a distinguished New South Wales politician and journalist;—Colonel Alfred Ollivant, formerly Inspector-General of Police in the North-West Provinces (Mutiny campaign);—Commander H. C. A. Brand, R.N. (Black Sea, Baltic, China 1857-59);—Lieutenant-Colonel J. A. Tighe, Military Knight of Windsor (New Zealand war);—The Venerable W. Weston Elwes, late Archdeacon of Madras, at Ootacamund;—Lieutenant-Colonel Eduljee Manockjee Damla, I.M.S. (Field Service, Shanghai);—Mr. A. M. Skinner, C.M.G., late of the Straits Settlements Civil Service, and Consul for the Siamese States;—Lieutenant-General R. S. Moseley, Bengal Staff Corps (retired), (China 1859, Afghan war 1880);—Major Robert Stuart (on staff of General Sir W. Williams of Kars 1855);—General E. F. Waterman, late Madras Army (Mutiny 1857);—Admiral S. A. Hoskins (Tamatave 1845, Kafir war 1851-52, China 1857-58).

We regret to announce also the demise of H.H. the Begum of Bhopal on June 16 last. The Begum, during the last thirty-three years, had ruled her state and followed worthily in the footsteps of her illustrious predecessors. She administered her country with marked ability and success, was distinguished for her liberality and benevolence and fidelity to the paramount Power. Her Highness is succeeded by her daughter, Nawab Sultan Johan Begum, who was married in 1874 to Ahmad Ali Khan, a member of the Afghan clan from which the Bhopal family is descended.

*June 21, 1901.*

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THE FAMINE IN INDIA, 1899-1900.

BY SIR CHARLES ELLIOTT, K.C.S.I., LL.D.

II.—THE COMMISSION'S REPORT.

IN the April number of this Review I attempted to describe the great famine of last year from the purely statistical side. The only information then before the public consisted of the figures published from time to time in the Government Gazettes, and from these I compiled my sketch, showing the area and population affected, the duration of distress, the numbers in receipt of the two main classes of relief, and the cost to Government. But I explained that as to many points suggested by these figures—the early flocking in of great crowds to the relief-works, the steady rise of the number, unbroken by the usual climatic alleviations of the season, the degree of success which had attended the measures of relief, the extent to which gratuitous relief had been given rather than relief on works, and the ultimate loss of life—judgment must be suspended till we should receive the report of the Commission appointed for the purpose by the Government of India. That Report has now been received from India, and we are in a position to consider the conclusions which have been unanimously arrived at. The Commission consisted of a body of men distinguished by their experience in the work of famine relief, and its President, Sir A. P. Macdonnell, has a splendid record for his administration of the North-West Provinces and Oudh during the preceding famine. I think

the public will agree in holding that the Report is worthy of its authors, and that we have in it a valuable and important contribution to our knowledge of how such a calamity should be treated.

The Report, after a few preliminary pages, consists of two portions. In the first the Commissioners deal with the administrative side of the work, and treat in very full detail of the various steps which were taken by Government and its officers, and which should be taken in future to relieve distress. In twenty-five sections they consider such questions as these: the preparations which ought to be made beforehand so as to be in a position to resist the invader effectually; the danger signals which should serve as a warning of the invasion; the importance of appointing a Famine Commission whenever the disaster is on a large scale; the order in which relief measures should be undertaken; the kind and number of works which should be opened for the influx of workers; the manner in which these works should be organized, controlled, and carried on; the tasks to be exacted, and the wages to be paid for performance of the tasks; the conditions under which gratuitous relief should be given; how the policy should be modified when the rain set in, and when the time approaches for closing relief; the special treatment of the aboriginal tribes; the medical and sanitary precautions to be taken in work-camps, poor-houses, and in the country generally; the extent and causes of famine mortality; the system under which the land revenue is suspended or remitted, and advances are given; the difficulties created by immigration from Native States; the measures to be taken for the preservation of the cattle when there is scarcity of fodder or water; the organization of railway traffic to enable the railways to pour in the necessary food-supplies; the utilization of the labour of weavers and other non-agricultural classes; the disposal of orphans left in the hands of Government officers. In treating of these subjects the Commissioners generally show what the previously

existing rules and system were, how far each province carried out that system wisely and effectually, and where experience has shown that the system requires modification. In this portion, therefore, the Report combines a judicial pronouncement on the success or failure of each provincial Government, with valuable suggestions for remodelling and compiling the famine code of the future.

The second portion of the Report is devoted to the consideration of protective measures. These come mainly under five heads: the establishment of a more definite system for the suspension and remission of the land revenue in the case of severe failure of crops; the simplification and development of the rules for making advances and loans to agriculturists; the creation of agricultural banks; remedies for the indebtedness of the peasantry in the Bombay Presidency; and agricultural development generally.

I propose to offer to the readers of this Review a brief summary of the Commissioner's views on most of these important heads, but before beginning this I must advert to the preliminary chapter, which, if we look to it for a general *coup-d'œil* and summary of the history of the famine, will seem to be the least satisfactory part of the Report. No doubt the Commissioners were hampered by the Government orders restricting them to the famine in British territory only. On this basis the area and population affected were 223,000 square miles and 34½ millions of people, according to the figures extracted by me from the Gazettes; but the Report places them at 189,000 square miles and 28 millions, and there is nothing to indicate what process of exclusion has gone on, or how these totals are arrived at. If, however, the Native States are included, the area rises to 640,000 square miles and 81 millions of people. It would have made the Report a more useful historical record if, for this portion only, the Commissioners had dealt with the whole of India, and had furnished a map showing in colours the parts afflicted, and

figures explaining how their totals of area, population, and numbers relieved were arrived at. It is only in this way that an authoritative statement can be obtained, comparing the extent and severity of this famine with its predecessors—a comparison which it is necessary to make if any conclusion is to be drawn as to the relative success or failure in the measures taken for relieving the famine-stricken population.

The following table, extracted from page 4 of the Report, purports to contrast “the population affected and the number of units relieved during the two recent famines in the provinces specified”:

| Province.         | 1896-97.             |                             | 1899-1900.           |                             | Variation in  |               |
|-------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|---------------|---------------|
|                   | Population affected. | Millions of Units relieved. | Population affected. | Millions of Units relieved. | No. affected. | No. relieved. |
| Central Provinces | 6,462,000            | 158                         | 10,418,450           | 556                         | + 61          | + 252         |
| Berar ...         | 1,183,000            | 5                           | 2,897,040            | 107                         | + 145         | + 2,040       |
| Bombay ...        | 6,865,000            | 119                         | 9,776,503            | 385                         | + 42          | + 224         |
| Ajmir ...         | —                    | —                           | 542,358              | 38                          | —             | —             |
| Punjab ...        | 3,157,000            | 22.4                        | 1,496,323            | 49                          | — 53          | + 119         |

Commenting on this table, they say (Report, page 5): “The increase in units relieved was then out of all proportion to the increase in numbers inhabiting affected tracts. In certain regions an increase of relief, as compared with 1897, was to be expected, seeing that the later famine followed so soon after the earlier one, and that both had been preceded in most provinces by a series of bad years. But, allowing for these considerations, we still regard the increase as very remarkable and beyond probable expectation.” It can hardly be said that in this sentence due weight has been given to all the points which ought to be considered. The severity of the famine, *i.e.*, the extent to which the crops were lost, is surely a most important element in such a comparison. The Commission on the Famine of 1896-97 estimated that 18 million tons of food, or one-third of the ordinary annual produce, had been lost; in this Report no such calculation of the extent of the disaster is attempted.

I believe it is unquestionable that the loss was greater than on the earlier occasion in three of the provinces mentioned in the table, the Central Provinces, Bombay, and Berar. In Berar I classed three districts as slightly affected in 1896-97, and none as severely hit; in 1900 the famine was intense or severe in six districts, and slight in one. The amount of suffering entailed by the two famines in Berar was hardly comparable, and I doubt if we should pronounce that the rise in the number of units relieved was excessive. In the Central Provinces the Government was blamed for having given too little relief in 1897; it was natural, therefore, that the amount given in 1900 should have been on a much larger scale. In Bombay only three districts were classed as suffering from severe or intense famine in 1897; this time it was intense or severe in nine districts. Then, again, the duration of the later famine was much greater. The pressure began abnormally early, in October, 1899; it continued in most cases till December, 1900, and in some districts it continues still. I calculate the average duration of severe distress as twelve months in the later against seven months in the earlier famine, and this alone would account for the total number of units relieved being nearly doubled, even if the average number for each month had been the same. On the whole, taking all these points into consideration, I do not feel convinced that the statistics of relief in 1900 show an excess over those of 1897 which deserves, *prima facie*, to be condemned as unreasonable and unjustifiable.

Such a conclusion may no doubt be justified by personal and local inquiry into the manner in which the work of relief was carried on, and to this we shall come presently. The results of their inquiry are foreshadowed in the remarks made by the Commission after narrating the high ratios the total population reached in certain districts, and the steady rise in the numbers on relief uninfluenced by the harvesting of the spring crops and the setting in of the rains. I drew attention to these peculiarities in my April article, and hoped

that we should find some explanation of the causes which led to them. The Commissioners observe as follows (page 7): "We have carefully considered these figures in conjunction with the recent agrarian history of these districts and the incident of immigration; and we are of opinion that they cannot be taken as the measure of distress without very great reservations. In certain districts, as we shall have occasion to point out, people in sore need of relief were denied it, in the earlier stages of the famine, owing to defective administration; but in the main, and taking the famine period as a whole, the relief distributed was excessive. We have no doubt that the excess is to be accounted for by an imperfect enforcement of tests on relief works, by a too ready admission to gratuitous relief, and by a greater readiness on the people's part to accept relief owing to the demoralizing influences of the preceding famine."

The grounds on which these remarks rest are to be found in the second portion of the Report; but it may be observed that, while two of the causes alleged for the increase convey disapproval of the manner in which the officials in certain provinces met the famine, the third is merely a statement of a self-acting influence—the growing tendency of the people to accept State help in time of distress. It is not therefore *in pari materia* with the other two causes. Imperfect enforcement of tests and too ready admission to gratuitous relief are errors of procedure which can and will be remedied. But undue willingness to be treated as paupers implies a diminution of self-respect which may partly be attributed to those errors of procedure, but is mainly due to the feeling of despondency produced by repeated and severe blows of hostile Fate. Granted a fairly long period of prosperity, and it may be hoped that this state of depression will pass away.

There is one more item to notice in the preliminary chapter before we pass on to the main body of the Report, and that is the paragraph which refers to the cost of the famine. The Commissioners find that 10 crores have been

spent on relief, two in advances and two in suspensions of revenue, and they think that in the end the famine will have cost the State nearly 15 crores of rupees. "This expenditure," they say, "far exceeds that incurred in any previous famine" (page 7). Here, as in the figures previously commented on, they seem hardly to have given sufficient study to past history. Fifteen crores is precisely the amount which the first Famine Commission of 1880 estimated future famines would cost; and it was on this assumption that the Famine Relief Fund was fixed at an annual surplus of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  crores, it being assumed that if "famine occurred once in every ten years the annual surplus thus accruing would equal the expenditure of 15 crores and place the treasury in equilibrium." The famine of 1876-78 was calculated by the first Commission to have cost over 11 crores, and that of 1896-97 about 20 crores. It will be useful to place the component parts of these totals side by side.

|   | 1876-78. | 1896-97. | 1899-1900. |
|---|----------|----------|------------|
| Expended on works ... ..                        | ...*     | 5,40*    | 6,97*      |
| "    gratuitous relief ... ..                   | ...      | 1,87     | 3,03       |
| Total on relief ... ..                          | 8,91     | 7,27     | 10,00      |
| Suspension and remission of land revenue ... .. | 1,93     | 8,50     | 2,00       |
| Advances and loans ... ..                       | ...      | 1,84     | 1,75       |
| Special establishment and other expenses ... .. | 35       | 1,00     | 1,25       |
| Charitable Relief Fund ... ..                   | ...      | 1,49     | ...        |
| Total (crores and lakhs of rupees) ... ..       | 11,19    | 20,10    | 15,00      |

\* Five o's omitted in columns marked with an asterisk.

To make the comparison fair, the expenditure for charitable funds ( $1\frac{1}{2}$  crores) should be included in 1900 as in 1897, thus raising the total to  $16\frac{1}{2}$  crores; but even this sum is not only not "far in excess of that incurred in any previous famine," but is not equal to the expenditure of the famine which immediately preceded that on which the Commission is reporting. On the other hand, it should



be observed that some portion of the revenue suspended in 1897 must have been recovered later, though I have not been able to ascertain the amount.

I turn now to the second part of the Report, which contains the views of the Commissioners, expressed in the fullest detail, on all points connected with the administration of relief. This portion is extremely valuable. The opinions are recorded in a concise authoritative tone which rivets attention ; they are illustrated from time to time by examples of what has been done or not been done in accordance with them, with good or evil results ; and they afford material for a complete revision of the Famine Code. While most important to the Indian official, they are often too technical or minute to interest the English reader, and I shall give only a brief summary of some of them, while others deserve to be treated more at length.

The importance of an efficient system of intelligence and of the possession of efficient programmes of relief-works is strongly insisted on, and the Commission found that in no province were well-considered programmes ready at the beginning of the famine. This was mainly due to the exhaustion of programmes in 1897 and to the belief that, as another famine could not be expected to arise shortly, there need be no hurry about drawing up fresh ones. But such a mistake ought never to occur again, and the complete preparation and constant annual revision of such lists of public and village relief-works will no doubt in future be insisted on. There are sensible remarks about the necessity for laying in a reserve of tools and plant to meet such emergencies, and also of taking steps at the first note of warning to get together reserves of establishment by enlisting the services of educated men who are not in regular Government employ but who soon "learn what they have to do and acquire the necessary faculty of control." It would be easy, they say, to multiply "instances in which the policy of the local Government was hampered or the administration diverted from its proper course by the in-

sufficiency of establishments. To take only a few: the rush on the works in the Buldana district of Berar and in the Chattisgarh division of the Central Provinces, and the complete disorganization of those works; the failure to open works at an early period of the distress in the Central Provinces; in Bombay the unreadiness of the Public Works Department in nearly all districts, the system of weekly instead of daily payments, the prolongation of the test works stage, the demoralization caused by the minimum wage, with its sequel, the penal wage—all these were due in the main to want of establishment."

Among the initial measures to be taken when a famine is imminent, but is not yet absolutely declared, the Commissioners dwell especially on the importance of taking the people into confidence and making known as widely as possible what the Government plan of campaign is, so as both to put heart into the public and to make the principles to be followed clearly known to officials. They refer to the circular issued by the Central Provinces Government as having had an excellent effect. "In no province was there less misunderstanding of the intentions of Government. On the other hand, in Bombay the apparent absence on the part of its officers as to what the general administrative policy of the Bombay Government was led to hesitation and misunderstandings" (page 12). Make liberal preparations in advance of pressure, they say, and do not shrink from the risk of some waste of money in doing so; but wait on events, and avoid the mistake made by the Central Provinces in acting in advance of disclosed pressure, and so causing unnecessary relief at the outset (page 12). They urge also that influential non-officials should be consulted and induced to co-operate with the Government officials. "We were struck," they say, "by the little use made of non-official agency in every province." The advice is good, but one can see how difficult it is to carry it out. The man who is overworked in performing his own duties and supervising his subordinates finds it hard to spare time

for the persuasion and explanation necessary to induce outsiders to co-operate with him. At this time, also, liberal advances should be given for the construction and repair of wells and for the purchase of seed for the ensuing crop; the organization of an enlarged staff and of relief circles and the recruitment of non-official agency should be taken in hand; inquiries should be made as to the loss of crops, preparatory to suspension of the land revenue demand; the police should be supplied with funds to relieve wanderers in distress; test-works should be opened in the country and poor-houses in the towns. With regard to test-works, some useful suggestions are made to insure their acting really as tests of distress, and when they have served this purpose, and distress has been proved to exist, they should be converted into relief-works, and not kept on for three or four months as they were in some parts of Bombay.

The favour with which poor-houses are regarded in this part of the Report is, I venture to think, of very doubtful propriety (pages 18 and 19). "Poor-houses cost little; they can do no harm. . . . Had they been opened in the Khandesh district in the early days of the famine, they would probably have saved much suffering" (page 19). In striking contrast to the minuteness with which all details of the relief-work system are discussed, nothing is said about the organization of a poor-house, but I understand it to be an enclosed place in which residence is compulsory and cooked food is provided for the inmates, but no attempt is made to provide them with any useful employment, nor are they allowed to leave at will. Such a condition of things is surely depressing and demoralizing, and I can never forget the experience I had of the terrible effects of such poor-houses in Mysore in 1877 on the morale and health of the inmates. The Commissioners say that the object of "poor-houses is to collect and relieve paupers set adrift by the contraction of private charity," and they contend that they should not be used as the first Commission of 1880 pro-

posed, to test the need for relief, nor should they be delayed, as advised by the Commission of 1898, till relief work and gratuitous relief had commenced, so as to catch the overflow which escapes from these measures, but should be started as soon as the wandering of paupers is known to have begun. If the Commissioners had referred only to the lepers and cripples and blind beggars of the towns, whose usual sources of alms dry up when food rises to famine prices, and who cannot be set to any labour whatever, provision for such outcasts in a poor-house may be suitable, though it would probably be better to supply their wants by doles of food at their houses. But when they speak of the wandering of large numbers of paupers, such as took place in the Central Provinces and in Khandesh, surely the proper measures to take are to encamp the able-bodied on relief-works, and to persuade the weaker to return home and receive gratuitous relief there. The idea of imprisoning them within the four walls of a poor-house, with no employment and no liberty, seems almost too harsh to be suggested. It is probable that the Commissioners had in their minds poor-houses organized in a different way from that described above, and it is unfortunate that they have not explained what the organization should be.

The question whether relief should be given to persons able to labour on large works or small, or, to use another nomenclature, on public or village works, has been largely debated in famine literature, and hitherto large or public works have been in favour, on which masses of people can be collected and controlled, and their labour devoted to useful purposes and measured up and classified. The Commissioners of 1898 (page 21), agreeing mainly with the first Commission of 1880, held that small or village works should be reserved till the advent of hot weather, or till large camps are broken up by epidemic disease. The present Report practically modifies this conclusion by dwelling on the advantages of village works (page 22) as being more economical, more useful, less exposed to outbreaks of disease, more

easy to control, less likely to loosen moral and domestic ties, or to hinder the early resumption of village activity. As to the latter claim, however, it is mentioned that in Berar, even with extremely low wages, they were found to divert labour from the fields (page 23). No doubt large works are open to the charge of fostering divers evils by collecting crowds, among whom domestic and family ties have been dissolved, and they entail great expenditure in hutting and medical charges, which are avoided on small works; but the corruption of the staff probably flourishes equally on either class of works, and is a plant hard to eradicate on any soil. It is said, too, that "non-official opinion is almost unanimous in favour of village works," which is a weighty argument if the opinion is that of non-officials who have had experience on both sides. But "it is essential that these village works should be planned out in advance" (page 22), and this must be a task of extreme difficulty, if any discrimination is to be shown in drawing up a list of (say) two or three small works in each of (say) two or three thousand villages. Indeed, the Commissioners while in favour of village works as the backbone of the relief system in a district in which a sufficient number of them can be found, doubt if there are many such districts. Even in such districts they say that there should always be a reserve of large public works to fall back on. I hardly think they attach sufficient weight to the drawbacks affecting this system, the extreme difficulty of supervising a vast number of isolated small bodies of workers, the certainty that work will be slovenly, tasks will be evaded, numbers falsified, and relief money peculated, and that the disorganisation accompanying such a system will tend to demoralize the people, to destroy the test of labour, and to attract crowds who are not really in want, but are content to share in the general picnic. Their verdict is not, indeed, a direct reversal of the former policy, but whereas formerly the principle was to rely on large public works, with small village works to supplement them, the Commissioners now

advocate a policy of relying on small village works in districts where a sufficiency of such works can be planned, supported by a reserve of large public works, and the resolution of the Government of India accepts their decision.

In the next sections the Commission describe with extreme minuteness the organization required for a well-managed relief-work, the duties of the controlling officer, the strength of the subordinate establishment, the proper number for a gang, the amount of the task, and the system of measurement and payment, whether payment should be made in cash or in grain, and whether to a whole gang or to each separate member. They strongly insist on the importance of daily payments, and show that it is practicable to arrange for them. The amount of the task is to be apportioned to the capacity of each class of labourers, and the wage will depend on the task performed. No minimum wage should be allowed as a permanent arrangement to labourers who refuse to work, though it may be given temporarily as a punitive measure. All the suggestions made on these subjects bear the stamp of good sense and practical experience.

On the subject of the wage to be paid on relief-works the Commissioners (in Section XII.) have a good deal to say which will no doubt be for the most part embodied in the Famine Code of the future. The daily cost of each unit employed on works was, according to the Report (page 7) 1.75 annas, whereas in the famine of 1896-97 it had been 1.44 annas, an increase of nearly 25 per cent. The Report of 1898 held that in some cases the relief had been cut too low, and they recommended a higher scale of wage, viz., the equivalent of 20 chittaks (40 ounces) of grain to each able-bodied male labourer, and other rates in proportion, the minimum rate being 24 ounces, or 12 chittaks. We are now told that these rates were tried, and nearly everywhere found to be too large, so that in most cases the maximum rate was cut down from 20 to 18 chittaks, and even to 17. The Commission recommend a scale based upon a wage

of 18 chittaks for a full-time labourer, but they evidently think that this errs on the side of liberality. They say that (Report, page 38) "there is no little evidence in favour of a lower scale than has ever yet been considered sufficient in India. In Native States, we understand, a wage on a level with the British minimum was found sufficient. . . . In British territory large numbers remained in good condition for months together on the minimum wage." It will be remembered that in the Madras famine Sir R. Temple adopted a wage of 8 chittaks (with additions for salt, pulse, etc., which brought it up to about 10 chittaks) per head, following the proverbial phrase of India, in which "half a seer of flour," or 1 pound, is spoken of as a livelihood, but this was found too little to support people who were already brought low by starvation. So, too, in the recent famine it appears that in some parts a "punitive minimum wage" of 9 chittaks was given; but the Commission pronounced it to have been insufficient for any length of time, even when received in idleness. It was abandoned at the beginning of the hot weather in Berar, but it was maintained to a later date in Bombay. . . . We are unable in any circumstances to approve the retention of so low a wage, except by way of punishment and for a short time only" (page 38). It is satisfactory, in view of the remarks which will have to be made on the famine mortality, to be assured that there was no deficiency, but if anything overliberality (except in this Bombay case) in the wage distributed; but it is a regrettable omission that the Report does not contain any historical record of how the practice varied in different provinces, and why such different rates were paid as 1·6 annas in the Punjab and 2·08 in Berar.

One of the least convincing parts of the Report is the section on gratuitous relief. In the first place, the facts and figures seem to be somewhat uncertain. Readers of the April number of this Review will remember that I quoted there (pages 235-237, 241), the figures given in the Gazettes of India, as to the number on gratuitous relief, and the pro-

portion they bore to the total number on relief, and expressed surprise that, in spite of all we had heard as to the extent to which this class of relief had been given, we should find the general proportion in British territory to have been 35 per cent., whereas it had been as high as 42 per cent. in 1896-97. The Commissioners, however, have obtained different figures, which work out to a general average of 45 per cent. on the later occasion. Here are the comparative figures for the different provinces, the first column being taken from the Gazettes (see page 241 of this Review), and the second from the Report of the Commissioners, page 44 :

|                   |     |     |     | Proportion of Nos.<br>in Receipt of Gratuitous Relief<br>to Total No. on Relief. |    |
|-------------------|-----|-----|-----|--|----|
| Central Provinces | ... | ... | ... | 49   | 54 |
| Berar             | ... | ... | ... | 25   | 35 |
| Bombay            | ... | ... | ... | 21   | 36 |
| Ajmir             | ... | ... | ... | 39   | 32 |
| Punjab            | ... | ... | ... | 17   | 36 |
| Total             | ... | ... | ... | 35   | 45 |

It is possible that in the original returns published in the Gazettes dependents of labourers on relief-works were classed as workers, and that the Commissioners subsequently received information enabling them to transfer these numbers to the class of those who received doles without labour. This is the only suggestion I can offer at present to account for the apparent discrepancy.

The Commissioners point out the importance of keeping down this class of relief, and remark that, while there is a tendency on the part of the public to regard profuseness in this kind of relief as a venial fault, they regard it with much concern, "for, in truth, the fault is not a venial but a very grave fault, being akin to that dangerous popular vice—the disposition to free the Government to grant public charity. . . . The number gratuitously relieved during the dry



months of the year ought not to exceed one-third of the whole. . . . Taking the whole period of a famine, we are disposed to think that in no province ought gratuitous relief to exceed the average proportion (42 per cent.) to which it attained during the famine of 1896-97. . . . We think that in the Bombay Presidency, especially in Gujarat, the distribution of gratuitous relief in the homes of the people began too late and ended by being too profuse. A serious defect in the administration of Ajmir proper was the omission to give gratuitous relief to helpless people in their villages. On the other hand, in the Central Provinces the administration of gratuitous relief attained proportions which were beyond reason, and should not be repeated" (page 45).

These remarks may be very sound, but no historical retrospect of the procedure in the different provinces is afforded by which the public may judge how far their animadversions are justified, and in several cases Governments are censured for giving too little gratuitous relief, as, for instance, in Gujarat, of which they say that one cause of the great mortality was the failure of the local officers to distribute gratuitous relief along with the starting of relief-works. Nor does the rest of the section seem to offer any guide or clue by following which similar errors may be avoided in future. Every self-acting test, they say, has broken down, including that of cooked food, which was found utterly repellent in the Orissa famine, and very severe in the Madras and Mysore famine; but in 1900, in the kitchens of the Central Provinces, no reluctance was felt, and the people crowded to them in thousands. Reliance must be placed on selection—that is, on personal inquiry and individual knowledge, and on the preparation of lists by both official and non-official agency.

But no explanation is afforded of the variations in the cost of doles in different provinces, nor of the different systems on which they were given. We are not even told what the amount of the dole to each person was, nor what

it should be in future, and whether in cash or in grain—a striking contrast to the minuteness with which workers are divided into nine classes, and non-working children into seven, a special weight of grain is allotted to each class, and careful rules laid down as to the conversion of the grain into cash. In this, the most difficult branch of the measures which have to be taken for the relief of famine, the Report affords little useful guidance for the administrators of the future as to how the distribution of doles should be guided so as to be sufficient for the need of the sufferers without running the danger of demoralizing the population by offering help, on easy terms, to those who are not really in want.

In the section on "rains policy," the Commissioners are more explicit in their verdict regarding the manner in which different provinces carried out their duties, though they still fail to show quite clearly what were the specific defects in the system of which they censure the results. They point out that in the rains "the possibility of a self-acting labour test fades away, while the necessity for gratuitous relief for the weak and helpless reaches its maximum" (page 49). The general policy they approve is, that as the rainy season approaches, the people should be withdrawn from large works and dispersed over small public and village works near their homes; large advances for cattle and seed should be given, and pressure should be put on them to return to their homes and fields. The Central Provinces Government is held to have erred in two ways: First, it decided to close village works, and to rely entirely on gratuitous relief, which was to be given even to the able-bodied out of work, while a supplemental wage, or portion of a wage, was granted to persons engaged by private employers. Secondly, this system was introduced, not when the rains had actually broken, but when they were expected to begin. "The rains held off, a panic ensued, the kitchens were rushed, and new kitchens were opened, with results that are now generally admitted to have been

deplorable, . . . thus incidentally affording a striking justification of the principle that an Administration, while ready for action on all points, should wait on events before acting" (page 50). In Berar, "when the rains fell, the wages were reduced, and a few village works were opened, but the people were reluctant to work in the fields, a striking testimony to the easy times they had enjoyed on the relief-works, and . . . more pressure by a further reduction of the wage was necessary," accompanied by "an extension of gratuitous relief both by kitchen and by doles" (pages 50, 51). It is not clear whether the Commissioners intend to express any blame regarding the Berar procedure, the effect of which was, according to their figures, to produce as high a percentage of gratuitous relief as in any part except the Central Provinces. In Bombay the principles laid down appear to have been identical with those advocated by the Commissioners, but, "owing to the course of events which we notice elsewhere" (I have not been able to locate this reference), "and to the postponement of the rains, the Bombay Government were unfortunately compelled to depart from their original intentions, and to adopt a policy which led to a continuance of relief-works and to a very large increase of gratuitous relief, . . . which came, unhappily, too late in some districts, and was attended by great mortality" (pages 51, 52). This is rather a cryptic utterance, and we shall probably hear that a demurrer has been put in by the Bombay Government to a censure based on such obscure grounds. In their general remarks on this head, however, the Commissioners fall back on the lesson to be learned from the mistakes of the Central Provinces: the "rains policy" should not be put in force till the rains have actually commenced; gratuitous relief to the able-bodied should never be repeated; and the attempt to supplement the wages of private employers should never be tried again.

It appears incidentally, from the abstract of the instructions issued by the Bombay Government, that when the

rains had set in, doles from the Charitable Relief Fund were given to "*bonâ fide* cultivators of the poorest class." All that the Report says on this point is to testify to the "great benefits conferred by the distribution of these grants" (page 52). It seems to me that a serious protest should have been made against this application of the Charitable Fund. What reason was there why these doles should have been defrayed from it, and not from the Treasury, like the rest of the gratuitous relief? It has always been held that as long as famine continues the expenditure required to relieve distress should be a charge upon the Government, and that the main scope and aim of charitable relief should be to intervene when famine is over, not to save life, but to restore the sufferers to their original position, and provide them with a little capital to carry on their agricultural or other business. It was, indeed, allowed to be spent, under Government orders, on relieving poor and respectable persons who will endure almost any privation rather than apply for Government relief. But it hardly seems that "*bonâ fide* cultivators of the poorest class" belong to this category.

On the treatment of aboriginal tribes and on immigration from Native States, the Report does not contain anything very striking, and the next important section is that which deals with mortality. Here for the first time the Commissioners present full statistical information as to the death-rate in each province, month by month, with the various reported causes—cholera, fever, dysentery and diarrhoea, smallpox and others—and in Bombay and the Punjab this information is given for each district. But they have been able to find out very little as to the connection between the mortality and the severity of famine, or the success or failure of relief measures, nor has it been possible to decide in most cases how far the deaths recorded were those of immigrants from Native States or of the resident population.

In the Central Provinces a suggestion is made that the

distribution of ill-cooked food at the kitchens, combined with the exposure involved in going to and from them, may have contributed to swell the death-roll. Of Berar the Commissioners say that much of the excess mortality cannot be disconnected with privation. Of the southern division of Bombay they remark that the death-rates were relatively not high, though as a matter of fact they rose by 45 per cent. above the decennial average. Of the Gujarat figures they say that the abnormal rates for fever and bowel complaints in May, June and July were in reality inflated by cholera deaths, while no such suggestion is made regarding the very high fever rate in Ajmir for May, which was nearly four times the normal. This criticism is curious, because it is generally held that cholera symptoms are so distinctive that it is the one disease regarding which the recorded mortality is fairly accurate. Of Gujarat and also of the Punjab they say that the unhealthiness of the autumn, acting on the reduced physique of the people, is responsible for much of the mortality. Such obvious remarks as these do not seem likely to bear much positive fruit, and the only case where any connection is suggested between death-rate and relief is that of Ajmir, where the Commissioners say that "much mortality might have been avoided had gratuitous relief in the villages been less sparingly given throughout the famine in Ajmir proper" (page 69). This is a hard saying and seems to require some elucidation, when we consider that according to the Gazette figures, out of a population of 542,000, 116,000 persons, or 21 per cent., were in receipt of continuous relief for nine months, and of these 45,000, or 39 per cent., were on gratuitous relief. By the modified figures adopted in the Report the proportion of gratuitous to total relief in Ajmir was 32 per cent., and the Commissioners have declared their opinion that with good administration the proportion ought not to exceed one-third in the dry months, or 42 per cent. through the whole season.

The general results of the registration of deaths during the famine are brought out by the following table :

| Province.                             | DEATH-RATE PER<br>MILLE. |                       | Percentage<br>of Excess<br>in 1900. | Deaths<br>recorded in<br>1900. | Decennial<br>Average of<br>Deaths. | Excess in<br>1900. |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------|
|                                       | 1900.                    | Decennial<br>Average. |                                     |                                |                                    |                    |
| Central Provinces                     | 56.7                     | 34.5                  | 64                                  | 539,234                        | 351,548                            | 187,686            |
| Berar ... ..                          | 82.4                     | 38.8                  | 112                                 | 236,022                        | 110,096                            | 125,926            |
| Bombay (affected<br>districts) ... .. | 83.6                     | 29.7                  | 181                                 | 1,218,650                      | 473,274                            | 745,376            |
| Ajmir ... ..                          | 120                      | 24.2                  | 395                                 | 65,067                         | 14,609                             | 50,458             |
| Punjab (affected<br>districts) ... .. | 79.3                     | 35.3                  | 108                                 | 245,978                        | 118,569                            | 127,409            |
| Total ... ..                          | ...                      | ...                   | ...                                 | 2,304,951                      | 1,068,096                          | 1,236,855          |

"The recorded deaths were more than double the decennial average of deaths, and the toll taken by the famine in British districts was about one million and a quarter lives" (page 71). Of these a large number were immigrants, though it is impossible to say how many, but the Commissioners write that "the impression which the evidence as a whole leaves on our minds is that one million excess deaths occurred among British subjects." One-fifth of the excess, they think, was due to cholera.

These figures indicate a lamentable loss of life, and come to us with a shock after studying in this Report the immense extent of the measures taken to conduct the campaign against famine. But it is hardly necessary to repeat what was laid down by the first Famine Commission, and assented to by both its successors, that "the hope that any human endeavours will altogether prevent an increase of mortality during a severe famine is untenable. No imaginable system of relief will completely meet all the various degrees of privation and suffering which a famine produces, and which are all more or less prejudicial to health and life." Not even can deaths from direct starvation be absolutely prevented; all that can be claimed is that such measures have been taken that no one need die of starvation if he will avail himself of them; but the in-

direct effects of a famine—the breaking up of homes, the necessity of adopting new modes of life, the use of unwholesome, insufficient, and unusual food, the defiling of the scanty water-supply, the depression and despair which sap the moral stamina of the sufferers—against these no adequate protection can be devised. The famine of 1876-78 was calculated to have produced an excess of  $5\frac{1}{4}$  million deaths above the normal in all British India. In 1896-97, in the three provinces most severely affected, with a population of about 40 millions, the death-roll increased by 800,000. Now we have an estimate of 1 million in a population of 25 millions. The higher ratio of mortality must have been largely caused by the lessened power of resistance, and the greater depression induced by the return of so terrible a calamity after so short a period.

The Commissioners turned naturally to the census of 1901, hoping that it would throw some light on the subject, but they are only able to repeat, what is already well known, that there has been a great abnormal decrease of population in the provinces which have suffered severely from these two great famines. I reproduce their table, but add to it two columns showing what the population would have been had it increased in the same ratio as it did in the previous decennial period 1881-91.

In affected districts only :

| Province.             | Population of 1891. | Population of 1901. | Decrease. | Estimated Population of 1901 at the Rate of Increase from 1881 to 1891. | Decrease in 1901 below this Estimate. |
|-----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|-----------|---|---------------------------------------|
| Central Provinces ... | 10,789,291          | 9,845,318           | 938,976   | 11,835,000  | 1,990,000                             |
| Berar... ..           | 2,897,040           | 2,752,418           | 144,622   | 3,142,000   | 390,000                               |
| Bombay ... ..         | 12,277,576          | 11,584,072          | 693,504   | 14,047,000  | 2,463,000                             |
| Ajmir ... ..          | 542,358             | 476,330             | 66,028    | 637,000   | 161,000                               |
| Total... ..           | 26,501,268          | 24,658,138          | 1,843,130 | 29,661,000  | 5,004,000                             |

These figures indicate that in the affected provinces which have suffered from two severe consecutive famines in the last decade, the population is less by five millions than it should have been if favourable conditions had pre-

veiled, and it is actually less by 1,843,000 than it was in 1891. The full bearing of this comparison, as applied to the whole of India and not only to the parts stricken by the last famine, will no doubt be discussed and brought out in Mr. Risley's forthcoming famine report; but it may be useful to point out that the shortage will probably be found due not only to increased mortality, but also in a considerable degree to a lower birth-rate. The extent to which a famine lowers the reproductive faculties of the affected population was pointed out by the first Famine Commission, and it was shown that in the year after the famine the number of births in Madras alone was less by 800,000. The second Commission did not refer to this question at all, nor does the present Report touch on it except in one place where a remark is made as to the recuperative power shown by a higher birth-rate when once famine has passed away. I am not aware on what information this statement is based, and though it is likely enough that when once the country has fully recovered its prosperity the birth-rate returns to its old level or even reaches a higher, it seems unlikely that such a recovery should have been effected in the brief interval between the calamity of 1896 and that of 1899. If it was so, the Report would have done well to quote the authority.

It is rather a surprise, after so much has been said about the railways proving the salvation of the country, to find in the Report that the quantity of rolling-stock "has been proved insufficient for the requirements of the country in a wide-spread famine" (page 77). The evidence for this conclusion consists of complaints from grain-dealers, and the fact that "in the North-West Provinces and Oudh the goods-sheds and platforms were crowded for weeks together with grain consigned to famine-stricken tracts, and only waiting for waggons to be taken there." The same thing happened in 1877, and then Captain (now Sir William) Bisset was sent to produce order out of chaos, which he did. The same remedy might perhaps have been applied



in 1900, but the Commissioners revive the old proposal to meet the difficulty by maintaining a State reserve of rolling-stock to be utilized in famine times. There is no reason why the question should not be examined again, but it is clear from the Report that the Commissioners have not appreciated the strength of the objections to their suggestion, and their experience of railway management is probably not sufficient to give their recommendation much weight.

On the subject of suspensions and remissions of land revenue the Report holds that "except in Berar great liberality has been shown . . . but that defects in the administration, which can in future be avoided, have detracted from the results which that liberality ought to have secured" (page 85). These defects were twofold: First, the policy of government was not announced sufficiently early to put heart into the people. In the Central Provinces, while the amount of suspension was being debated, the collection of revenue was going on, so that in some cases, at the time of announcing to the people the amounts suspended, it was found that "more had already been collected than was compatible with the full concession sanctioned" (page 82). In Bombay no announcement of the intentions of the Government seem to have been made, and "beyond a general knowledge that those who had not the means would not be expected to pay, the people did not know their position" (page 83). In Gujarat the amount of suspension recommended by the local officers was cut down by nearly one-half. "We are bound to record our opinion," say the Commissioners, "that much misunderstanding and much harassment and loss to the people would have been avoided had the Local Government fixed definitely at an earlier date what the limit of suspension was actually to be, and had fixed that limit on a liberal consideration of the existing pressure" (page 84). The second defect was, in the opinion of the Commissioners, that an attempt was made to discriminate between rich and poor—between men

who were only agriculturists and men who were money-lenders as well as agriculturists. This entailed delay and inquiry through village officials into the circumstances of village officials, and the system seems to have been abandoned definitely in the Punjab, and practically in other provinces. The amount suspended was nearly three-quarters of the demand in the Central Provinces, 31 per cent. of the demand in Bombay, 50 per cent. in Ajmir, 82 per cent. in the Hissar district of the Punjab, but only 4 per cent. in Berar. Altogether  $25\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs of rupees were remitted and 206 suspended; how much of this will in the end be remitted and how much collected cannot be known at present.

The second part of the Report contains suggestions as to protective measures which are recommended with the view of improving the position of the population in the face of future famines. The Commissioners begin with some statistics as to the incidence of the land revenue and the proportion it bears to the gross value of the crop—figures which differ widely from those adopted by Mr. Romesh Chunder Dut and others who have recently written on the subject, but which agree very closely with the conclusions which the first Commission of 1880 accepted from my calculations. They reckon that the land revenue is assessed at about 5 per cent. of the value of gross produce in the Central Provinces, 7 per cent. in Berar, the Deccan and the Punjab; but that in Gujarat it rises to 20 per cent. Their general conclusion is that “except in Bombay, where it is full, the assessment is low to moderate in ordinary years; it should in no way be, *per se*, the cause of indebtedness” (page 92). But the cultivators fail to lay by in good years enough to meet the deficiencies of lean years, and the provisions for safe borrowing are rudimentary; hence there is need for much elasticity in the collection of revenue or rent. The two main principles which they lay down—early and definite announcement of the amount to be suspended, and no differentiation between individuals—have already been mentioned. Relief is not ordinarily to be given unless

more than half the ordinary crop has been lost. When the failure is widespread uniform suspensions of revenue and rents should be worked out ; suspension of revenue should always be followed by suspension of rent in Zamindari tracts ; no time should be lost in deciding how much of the suspended revenue or rent should be remitted, and the balance which has to be collected should be spread over two or three years' instalments. These provisions seem wise and sufficiently liberal.

The section dealing with agricultural banks is exceedingly interesting and contains perhaps more original suggestion than any other part of the Report ; unfortunately it is difficult at the end of so long an article to devote much space to it. The leading idea is that the agricultural or village bank should be a society with unlimited liability, consisting of members carefully selected, living in the village or some such narrow area, with officials working gratuitously and with no paid-up capital. The Commissioners insist with much energy that whereas each individual cultivator or ryot in a village can offer but little security, a number of them, combining together, can create a new and valuable security, and that a creditor can obtain repayment from the group more simply than from the members composing it. It is a little hard to see how this greater security is created, and one is reminded of the islanders who live by taking in each other's washing. If they default, the creditor may obtain judgment against the group, but he must apparently take out execution against each individual. However, it may be admitted that such a union as is proposed would give the appearance of greater strength, and the policy of joint security has often been tried in giving advances for well-construction or similar objects, and has not been found to fail. But in all previous discussions on the subject the crux has been found to be, How is the capital to be provided? The indebted cultivators, for whose needs the bank is to be started, cannot take up shares or contribute any capital, and the usual solution has been that it is to be lent by the Government.

Sir A. Macdonnell's Commission have a novel scheme to propose; they introduce a central organization society for each district or division, composed of landlords, merchants, and others who may be influenced, partly by philanthropic, partly by financial motives, to lend their money and take up shares at, say, 4 per cent. interest. Such organization societies will be able to organize village banks and supervise their working, and to grant advances to them; the village banks will live on the difference between the 4 per cent. they pay and the, say, 12 per cent. they receive, and will credit the difference (after deducting expenses and losses) to a reserve fund which may ultimately grow to a sufficient sum to serve as the working capital of the bank. The scheme postulates the assistance of influential and moneyed men who will act from benevolent motives; and if these can be secured, there is good hope of success. But as reference is made (page 101) to the fact that some such banks have been established in the North-West Provinces and Oudh, it is interesting to note that a recent discussion was held at Allahabad (reported in an August *Pioneer*) between the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir A. P. Macdonnell, and several district officers and important non-officials, and that there is no mention of many banks in which the capital was self-raised; most of them were financed with money lent by the Court of Wards—that is, by Government. Now, whatever Government may be able to do, it is quite clear that it cannot supply money to finance every agriculturist in India. It is on the capacity for self-support which these banks may develop that their existence and future prosperity depend.

The last of the "protective" proposals which need be noticed here is that relating to indebtedness in the Bombay Presidency—a source of trouble which has long been known to the public, and which the Deccan Ryots Act was intended to relieve, though it does not seem to have been very successful. The Commissioners draw attention to some defects in the Bombay Survey Settlement as accentuating these evils, and especially to the want of any system for registering

changes in land, insomuch that, when a ryot sells or mortgages his land, the name of the transferee is frequently not known to the district authorities. Similarly the Settlement Authorities only recognise one name as the occupant of a "survey number," although there may be many partners in the holding; and if a ryot sublets his land, or part of it, the District Record contains no note of the name of the subtenant or the rent he pays. If the ryots are to be relieved in time of famine by suspension of the revenue demand and by advances for improvements, seed, cattle, etc., it is essential that the authorities should know the name of the occupant of the land. When the old occupant has been sold up by the money-lender his name should be wiped out and that of the real owner substituted. Where he still remains as mortgagee in possession, they recommend that a special court should be established to investigate the sum really due, the average produce of the land should be ascertained, enough set aside for the consumption of the ryot and his family, and the surplus appropriated to the payment of debt within a maximum limit of years (page 110). This is practically to apply the principle of the Deccan Relief Acts not merely in individual cases where a creditor brings a debtor into court, but universally by a general procedure sweeping over the whole face of the country. Such a scheme has been applied to encumbered estates in Jhansi, in Kathiawar, and elsewhere, but it is now proposed to extend it to the multitudinous small holdings of the entire presidency. If the evil is really so great as the Commissioners believe, no remedies, however heroic, should be withheld; but it must be acknowledged that this scheme implies a tremendous deal of work over an enormous area, the creation of multitudinous Land Courts, and the settlement of the private affairs of probably a million farmers. The expense will be enormous, and the difficulty of procuring suitable men to do the work greater even than it has been found in Ireland. The Commissioners further recommend that legislation be undertaken to restrict the transferability of land similar to

what has been recently carried for the Punjab. The last mail of August brings an account of a measure of this nature which has been introduced into the Bombay Legislative Council, and it is noticeable that while it is supported by the English officials, it is vehemently opposed by all the native members of the Council.

There are several other suggestions and recommendations in the Report which are interesting and valuable, but I have touched on the most important, and this lengthy article can hardly be prolonged. I think what I have written justifies the opinion expressed at the beginning. The Report is one of great ability, and bears the impress of minute personal experience as to many of the topics it touches. It makes no pretension to be a historical or statistical account of the famine, and no one could draw any conclusion from it as to the extent or severity of the calamity as a whole, or how it compares with its predecessors. But of the nature of the measures taken to relieve distress it gives on the whole a clear account, and it contains most valuable criticisms on the past and suggestions for the future as regards many branches of those measures.

At the time we go to press, only a telegraphic summary of the resolution of the Government of India on the Report has been published, in which the Governor-General in Council concurs that relief was given on the most liberal scale, erring in some cases on the side of extravagance, and involving an undue expenditure of money. But this liberal distribution of gratuitous relief in the Central Provinces during the rains undoubtedly saved thousands of lives, and was the direct cause of the low mortality in the autumn.

The principle is laid down that village relief-works should be the chief means of using famine labour, and that a Famine Commissioner should be appointed whenever the relief operations are on a considerable scale. The Government hesitates to adopt the suggestion as to a lower scale of wages on relief-works without obtaining the views of the local administrations.

As to the increase of railway stock, which is demanded on the ground that the railways proved unequal to the carriage of food and grain, this may have been due to the unavoidable limitations of the carrying capacity of the lines rather than to a shortage of waggons.

The collection of land revenue, except in Berar, where an undesirable stringency was exercised, is not larger than is consistent with a policy of great liberality.

The resolution concludes : " The Commission makes a series of important suggestions as to the improvement of the condition of the agricultural classes, recommends a greater elasticity of revenue collection generally, and particularly in the Bombay Deccan, the establishment of agricultural banks, the encouragement of land improvement, the expenditure of a larger share of State funds on irrigation works, and the paying of wider attention to measures for increasing the knowledge, intelligence and thrift of the cultivators. Particular attention is invited to the indebtedness of the cultivating classes in the Bombay Deccan, and some very radical measures of reform are advocated. These recommendations will be considered in detail with due respect to the authority attaching to them. The Governor-General welcomes them in the expectation that they will lead to a number of most beneficial reforms. The Government of India has already taken action on two of the lines indicated. The development of village credit associations has been under the consideration of a specially constituted committee. The practicability of a wide extension of irrigation work is the subject of a local inquiry as a preliminary step to its thorough investigation by an expert Commission in the cold weather. The Governor-General desires to record his appreciation of the assistance which the Government will derive in the treatment of future famines from the body of authoritative opinion thus placed at its disposal, and feels assured that a material advance has been made towards the solution of the difficulties with which the State is confronted in undertaking at uncertain intervals and at short notice a

gigantic and unparalleled system of poor relief. If India is again called on to suffer, she will be the better able, so far as management and organization are concerned, to meet her misfortunes, from the lessons learned in the sad school of the recent visitation, and now collated by the most competent and sympathetic hands."

What seems to me most regrettable in the Report is the tendency to criticise the Government of a province on evidence which is not recorded or on general impressions. I have drawn attention to one or two such cases, as regards Ajmir and Berar, where the facts, as far as they are on record, do not seem to bear out the censure, and it is probable that the incriminated Governments will have something, or much, to say in their defence. But even so, those shortcomings are not numerous, and there is abundant proof that the great calamity of 1900 was met and combated with abundant energy and sympathy, with perhaps excessive liberality, and with almost complete success, except as regards the indirect mortality, which under the existing conditions was unavoidable.



## RECENT JUDICIAL DEVELOPMENTS IN INDIA.

By D. C. JOHNSTONE, I.C.S.

IN the histories of Governments and peoples, in the continued procession of institutions and activities of all kinds, the student finds at intervals new ideas cropping up and bringing about, sometimes gradually, a changed aspect of things. A generation after the appearance of the new idea one looks back and finds it hard to understand how people got on without it thirty years ago, and how it is that things which appear to him familiar and almost self-evident struck many of his predecessors as revolutionary, confusing, and dangerous. The emergence of the new idea is usually connected in the popular mind with a name or a group of names, and though greater knowledge usually reveals the fact that the persons bearing those names were not the original creators of the idea, though it often appears that other men already held the idea and were able to express it clearly, yet the popular ascription of credit is usually on the whole a just one. The names are remembered of those men who by a happy combination of opportunity and capacity were able to clothe the abstract thought with the garments of actuality, or, to vary the metaphor, to take the machine hitherto standing idle in the inventor's study and to set it to work and to produce. Illustrations of these reflections come readily to the mind. Cobden and Bright did not invent "free trade," and yet we think of their names when we use the phrase. Darwin was not the first to observe the resemblance between the structures of different species of animals and plants, to notice the effect upon organs of changes of environment, and to conjecture descent from a common ancestor; but, nevertheless, we rightly apply the title of Darwinism to that fruitful series of propositions, deductions, and suggestions, which have sup-

plied a new language to natural science, and which, in a few years after the publication of "The Origin of Species," so materially altered the attitude of educated mankind towards the problems of the universe and of religion. The same kind of thing is to be found in the narrower theatre of human activity in which the legislators and administrators of our Indian Empire work. That Empire is justly the wonder and admiration of the world. Whether we look at the history of its conquest against enormous physical and material odds or its retention and orderly government by agencies numerically insignificant, we cannot but admit the extraordinary political genius of the nation that has done and is doing the work. Tenacity and resource, high courage and unshakable resolution, these were the qualities that made the conquest possible; but for the retention and continued orderly government of the country, with its vast areas and appalling swarms of diverse and mutually hostile nations and religions, virtues and powers still more unusual and admirable were required and have been forthcoming. It is not too much to say that, if we leave out of account the temporary disturbance of equilibrium due to the recent natural scourges of famine and plague, the present general condition of India is due to two great groups of virtues at present the possession of the educated British mind, namely, religious toleration and a profound, ingrained respect for law. These two things have made it possible for a handful of aliens to keep large populations quiet and contented, and in the state of affairs so induced it has been possible to inaugurate and to carry on a silent revolution in the ideal of the whole native population and its conceptions of life and government: the native of India is learning what it is to live *under law* as distinguished from living under *personal government*. The importance of keeping the judicial system in such a country at a high standard of efficiency is therefore obvious.

In the beginnings of our rule in India nothing in the nature of regular legislation was attempted; but before the

end of the eighteenth century Regulations were passed on this and that subject, and thus a start was made in the direction of uniformity in the law and of guidance of local authorities. It is not the purpose of this paper to give a history of Indian legislation (to deal with which in a detailed manner would require a considerable volume), and it is sufficient for us to note at this stage that, as the difficulties of government were better understood and the inconvenience of loosely-drafted Regulations and Acts with subsequent piecemeal emendations began to be felt, scientific codification of the law became a necessity. The nineteenth century had not long dawned when the intolerable state of the criminal law of India was here and there recognised; and the wheels moving very slowly, we find in the thirties Macaulay, as member of the Viceroy's Council, drafting an Indian Penal Code, an admirable piece of work, which, however, from one cause or another, did not become law till 1860.

The men with whose names the business of codifying Indian law will always be connected are Sir Henry Sumner Maine and still more Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, the former a man of brilliant generalizations and of illuminating intellect, the latter a man of great practical insight, of Cyclopean energy, and of comprehensive brain. Both saw what a wonderful opening there was in India for "scientific" legislation. Compared with old countries like England, there was in India a clean canvas to paint upon; there was no "party government" to hamper the schemes of men intent only upon the welfare of the people and upon the development of a logical legal system; there was a practical certainty that legislation judiciously conceived and carefully framed would pass; and the work they did in the way of simplifying and arranging the law of India, together with the efforts of their many able successors, has left that law, notwithstanding its still existing defects and omissions, a remarkable compendium of legal principles and practical legal rules. On the whole, we think it is fairly certain that

when the business of codification of law is undertaken in England, the scheme and method of the Anglo-Indian Codes will influence and attract the men charged with that business.

In 1870-72, when he was member of the Council of the Governor-General, Fitzjames Stephen wrote, amplified, and corrected an elaborate minute on the administration of justice in British India. He noticed the condition of the Statute Book in 1870, and indicated the lines on which it should be perfected and the measures to be adopted for that end; he gave his opinions upon the great controversy regarding the separation of judicial and executive functions; he discussed the question of the judicial training of the Indian civilian; and he touched upon other minor matters. It will be interesting to notice briefly the course that legislation has taken since 1870, especially in the direction of codification and consolidation, to set down the more important of Sir James's opinions and recommendations, and to see in what respects his views have been adopted. In the limits of a magazine article we can obviously give a mere sketch, and we will divide it into remarks upon (1) legislation, (2) judicial machinery, (3) training of judicial officers.

#### I. LEGISLATION.

In 1870 we notice three principal Acts: first, the Court Fees Act, vii. of 1870, which established the principle that litigants should pay for the services of the judges, and which provided the machinery for carrying out that principle; secondly, the Amending and Repealing Act, xiv. of 1870, which repealed obsolete laws and smoothed out inconsistencies in other laws; thirdly, the Coinage Act, xxiii. of 1870, in which we find the whole administrative and penal law of the time regarding coinage and currency, and which has been thrice amended and has been reprinted as modified up to 1893. The Court Fees Act has been amended from time to time, but not as regards its main principles, and no re-enacting as a whole has been found

necessary ; and, so far as we are aware, the only ambiguity in the wording of the Act which still perplexes the Courts is in Section 17 regarding the fee to be levied upon plaints or petitions of appeal dealing with two or more "distinct subjects." Some day this will have to be made clear. The boon to the Courts bestowed by the Amending and Repealing Act can easily be appreciated. It has been supplemented and re-enacted more than once, the latest comprehensive Act of the kind being xii. of 1891, which, however, has been amended three times. Two Acts of 1871 demand passing notice : Cattle Trespass (i.) and Pensions Act (xxiii). The first of these absorbed three earlier Acts, and has itself been only once amended ; it has been reprinted as amended. The Pensions Act has been twice amended ; it absorbed eight regulations and three existing Acts. The other two important Acts of this year, Prisoners and Registration, have both been absorbed by later Acts.

In 1872 were passed two of the most important Acts of the whole thirty years' period under review, namely, the Indian Evidence and Indian Contract Acts ; and also the Indian Christian Marriage Act. The framing of the first of these was a task requiring great acumen, a nice appreciation of the exact meanings of words and phrases, and the capacity to reduce to practice the theories of the logicians as to the relevancy of facts and as to the admissibility of inferences and presumptions. It has been repeatedly amended in this section and that, sometimes to bring out the original intention more clearly, and sometimes to alter that intention. There are still defects and ambiguities in it. In some parts it is above the heads of the less thoughtful judicial officers for whose guidance it is intended ; see, for instance, some of the early sections regarding relevancy of facts. In some parts it is so meagre and scanty that large volumes have been written by way of elucidation (see the chapter, containing three sections, on Estoppel). In some parts provisions have been inserted which some think

belong rather to the domain of procedure than of evidence; and on the other hand it is doubtful whether certain matters dealt with in the Procedure Codes should not have been included—at least, in part—in the Evidence Act, *e.g.*, the law of *res judicata* and *lis pendens*. Nevertheless, with all its faults, real and supposed, this Act in the hands of an Indian Judge or an Indian barrister is, on the whole, a neat and handy instrument for constant use in his profession. In the Indian Contract Act English law as found in rulings and precedents was for the most part followed, but here and there it was deliberately departed from, and with good reason. The Act is well arranged and compact, with clear definitions and, on the whole, unambiguous phraseology. Probably the most important differences in it when compared with English law are (1) in the matter of the ownership of stolen property which has come into the hands of an innocent purchaser, and (2) the matter of liquidated damages. In India (1) the innocent purchaser of stolen property has to surrender it to the original owner; and (2) the Courts have power, where a penalty for breach of a contract has been fixed by agreement, to consider what is a fair penalty, and to award that, the sum named in the agreement being taken merely as a maximum. By all who are acquainted with India and its commercial and social life the wisdom of these two provisions of law is fully recognised. It is clear, then, that not only is the codifying legislation of India sound and valuable as providing compact statements of the law, for the most part simple and unambiguous, but that also a great deal of practical knowledge and good sense has been brought to bear upon the task. We have heard officials of the old school deplore the activity of the Indian legislative councils, but their criticism is often uninstructed and ignores the changing condition of the country.

Passing over without remark the only two important Acts of 1873 (Savings Banks and Oaths), we come to the three Acts of 1874: Married Women's Property (iii.), European Vagrancy (ix.), and Laws Local Extent (xv.). The

value of the last named of these Acts can be readily appreciated if the piecemeal manner of the acquisition of British territory in India is considered. Until matters were made clear by this Act it was at times a question of great difficulty for a Court to decide whether a given law was in force in such and such a tract within the Court's jurisdiction. Cases occasionally arose in which the question was capable of no definite answer, or in which it could only be answered with certainty after laborious research in historical records showing the nature and circumstances of the annexation of the tract involved. The need for this Act was fully seen by Stephen; but two years elapsed after his departure from India before the facts and knowledge requisite for the framing of the Act could be collected.

In the next two years we need only refer to the Probate and Administration Act (xiii. of 1875), Indian Law Reports Act (xviii. of 1875), and Indian Merchant Seamen's Act (xiii. of 1876). The second of these is important as showing to what extent it has been possible for the Government of India to carry out certain proposals of Sir James Stephen regarding the systematization of future legislative work. It is impossible here to set out at length what those proposals were, but, taken generally, the views and proposals amounted to the following. Defects and ambiguities in the law come to light in the course of discussion of cases in the High Courts; the decisions of these cases are published periodically in the various authorized law reports; the reports so published are to a great extent defective and misleading, and many cases are unnecessarily reported, the result being increase of work and the production of confusion in the Lower Courts, more especially as the various High Courts are independent of one another and frequently differ in their exposition of the law; there is no regular system by which defects and ambiguities in the written law, and doubts as to points of unwritten law, are brought to the notice of the Supreme Government in order that steps may be taken for improving matters. The remedy, in Stephen's

opinion, was to regard reporting as a branch of legislation, and treat it accordingly—that is, to pass an Act embodying the following principles :

1. No reports whatever of cases decided in India after a certain date should be permitted to be quoted as authorities in any Court of Justice, except the statements and reports hereinafter referred to.

2. The Government should be authorized and required to publish half-yearly statements of such of the points of law decided by the Judges of the High Courts as they thought right.

3. No such statement should be published unless it was signed by a certain number of judges.

4. Government should be empowered to ask the judges questions suggested, but not decided, by actual cases, and the Judges required to state the law in answer to such questions.

5. Such statements of the law should have the same authority as a "full bench" ruling of a High Court.

Besides the passing of such an Act, Stephen recommended the adoption of a certain procedure in the Legislative Secretariat which would insure—(1) the separate record of decisions upon points of "written law" in a form convenient for immediate use in "annual amending Acts," which he contemplated; (2) such a periodical discussion between the Department and the Courts concerned of points of "unwritten law" actually decided in cases, and of the views of the Judges upon questions asked by the Department as would enable Government to publish the results in the *Gazette* half-yearly as authoritative pronouncements.

Now, of all these proposals, in so far as our information goes, only the first has been taken up. In the Act aforesaid (xviii. of 1875) it has been provided that no reports of decided cases are to be treated by the Courts as authorities except reports published under authority of the Governor-General in Council. No regular system of annual amending



Acts has been introduced; probably no one who has not actually worked in the Legislative Secretariat is competent to give an opinion upon this suggestion, but our impression is that the additional work likely to be created by such a scheme condemns it. Further, Government does not call upon the Judges from time to time to answer questions upon points of law raised, but not actually decided, in cases with a view to the publication of periodical "statements"; and here we think Government is in the right. The results of such consultations would be almost certainly unsatisfactory; without full discussion in open Court by contending counsel, each pressing his view upon the bench with all the acumen and ability he may possess, no decision upon a difficult point of law can be accepted with confidence as sound. It is essentially an amateurish notion that you have only to lay a question of law before an able Judge in order to get an unquestionably correct decision. On the whole, then, we think that this part of Stephen's minute does not display the remarkable practical good sense which he undoubtedly possessed.

We come next to the Acts of 1877, with the Specific Relief Act (i. of 1877) at the head of them. This embodies a striking effort to put into an orderly and concise shape, and into the form of a statute, the main principles of equity and natural justice that had been evolved and made clear by the labours of two centuries of English Chancery Judges. It would take too long to discuss this Act minutely. Here and there the meaning is slightly ambiguous, and here and there the drafting is in minor points faulty. Certain provisions are difficult of application in practice, or at least are found so by Judges not acquainted with the rulings upon which the several sections and illustrations are based; but to Judges who will take the trouble to study the Act, it is a most useful guide upon many difficult classes of questions. If it had never been passed, the wisdom embedded in it would, it may safely be said, have been inaccessible to all the Judges in the country except those of the High Courts, and hundreds of Courts, presided over by officers of all

degrees of experience, learning, and acumen, would have been left to decide by the light of nature matters of fundamental equity capable of being stated in authoritative language. In the same year the Registration Act of 1871 was repealed, and a Consolidating Act (iii. of 1877) took its place. This piece of work was on the whole carefully done, but in one important section the wording was so ambiguous that it became the battle-field of contending High Courts and commentators. It was the aim of the Legislature to require the registration of all non-testamentary instruments affecting immovable property over Rs. 100 in value, leaving registration optional when the value was less than the limit so fixed. It was also its aim to protect holders of registered deeds by declaring that a registered deed affecting immovable property should have priority over any unregistered deed, even if the latter had been executed first, and even if the latter was a deed whose registration was optional. It was recognised that this priority would be lost if there was fraud in the subsequent transaction; but it was left very doubtful whether mere knowledge on the part of the holder of the later (registered) deed of the existence of the earlier (unregistered) deed would deprive the registered deed of priority. This doubt led to a vast amount of wrong-doing, fraud and suffering in the Punjab and in Madras, in which parts of India for some years the law was held to be that mere notice of the previous unregistered deed did *not* deprive the later registered deed of priority. In those provinces that view of the law has now been abandoned, and everywhere the opposite view has been adopted, and no doubt all's well that ends well. But it seems a pity that an absolute Government such as that of India should have looked calmly on and have for years neglected to remove a crying evil by a measure requiring little more than the stroke of a pen—an explaining or amending Act of a few lines in length.

The Limitation Act (xv. of 1877) is comprehensive and neatly arranged. Besides providing for extinction by lapse of time of the right to sue, safeguarding the interests of

minors and lunatics, and protecting persons fraudulently kept in ignorance of their rights, it lays down a rule for the acquisition of easements by prescription, properly leaving out of account such acquisition by other means, *e.g.*, "grant" or "necessity." A few of the provisions of this Act have required a good deal of judicial explanation, showing that there is a want of clearness in the phraseology ; and in the case of one provision the Punjab Chief Court's interpretation, legitimate though it was, worked such manifest inconvenience that an explaining Act became necessary.

Four Acts were passed in 1878 which absorbed nineteen or twenty older Acts, *viz.*, Opium, Forests, Sea Customs, and Arms Acts. All have been repeatedly amended, and have been reprinted as modified. In 1879 two important consolidating Acts were passed—Stamps and Legal Practitioners. The former has been absorbed by an Act of 1899, and the latter, itself frequently amended, has been reprinted as modified up to 1896. The same sort of process went on in the following years. Important Acts relating to the following subjects, and absorbing previous enactments, have been passed, *viz.*: Merchant Shipping, Probate and Administration, Municipal Taxation, Factories, Negotiable Instruments, Transfer of Property, Companies, Loans, Steamships, Telegraphy, Petroleum, Small Cause Courts, Inventions and Designs, Wards, Railways, Land Acquisition, Prisons, Post Office, General Clauses, Civil Procedure, Criminal Procedure. The Civil Procedure Code (xiv. of 1882) has been found in parts difficult of interpretation by the Courts. Very bulky commentaries upon it are in the market, and some of its sections have been the subject of much controversy and difference of opinion. In our opinion, much of the Act requires explanation by further legislative pronouncement. The Criminal Procedure Code (v. of 1898) absorbs eight Acts and parts of ten others ; all difficulties found in its interpretation have been removed.

While all has not been done that might have been done in the way of consolidation of the law, the matter has been

kept conspicuously in sight by the Government, and much has been done. Nevertheless, the growing complexity of the national life and the constant emergence of matters requiring regulation by law have negatived Sir James Stephen's expectation that the Statute Book would be reduced in bulk. When writing his aforesaid minute he expressed the view that on the passing of five named\* consolidating Acts there would remain—

|  |        |
|--|--------|
| 1. Bengal Regulations ... ..   | 115    |
| 2. Madras Regulations ... ..   | 47     |
| 3. Bombay Regulations ... ..   | 28     |
| Total Regulations ... ..   | 190    |
| 4. India Legislative Council Acts (of which<br>180 apply to the whole of British India)... | 409    |
| 5. Acts of the Bengal Council... ..  | 74     |
| 6. Acts of the Bombay Council ... ..   | 76     |
| 7. Acts of the Madras Council ... ..   | 55—205 |
| Total Acts ... ..  | 614    |

besides the special rules for Hazara, Peshawar, and Ajmere.

He held that the Acts applicable to the whole of British India might easily be reduced to 150, while the Bengal Regulations might be cut down "to the narrowest possible limits." These predictions have in part been falsified. While not claiming exact precision for the following figures, we set them down as the result of a somewhat laborious search through the various publications of the Indian Government, and they may be taken as approximately correct up to 1898 :

|   |        |
|---|--------|
| 1. Bengal Regulations reduced to ... ..   | 62     |
| 2. Madras Regulations reduced to ... ..   | 33     |
| 3. Bombay Regulations reduced to ... ..   | 13—108 |
| 3A. New Regulations under Government of India<br>Act, 1870, in force as in margin ... ..                              | 88†    |
| Total Regulations ... ..  | 196    |
| 4. India Legislative Council Acts (of which 268<br>are in force in the whole of British India)<br>increased to ... .. | 573    |
| 5. Acts of Local Legislatures increased to ... ..   | 231    |
| Total Acts ... ..   | 804    |

\* Local Extent, Obsolete Regulations Repealing, Pensions, Madras Courts, Tuccavi.

† Punjab, 11; Bengal, 7; Bengal and Assam, 1; Assam, 9; Bombay, 4; Ajmere, 15; Coorg, 7; Burma, 30; Baluchistan, 4.

The Statute Book has, therefore, expanded to the amount of 190 Acts, Regulations [including the new batch (3A)] standing at nearly their old figure. The old Bengal, Madras and Bombay Regulations have been largely cut down, and on the whole we do not hesitate to say that the law, notwithstanding the numerous entirely new enactments rendered necessary by the advancement of the community, is in a more satisfactory condition than it was in when Stephen wrote his minute.

## II. JUDICIAL MACHINERY.

Sir James Stephen began by pointing out the difference between the Regulation and non-Regulation Provinces in the matter of judicial machinery. By Regulations of the years 1793, 1802, and 1827 respectively, "the broad general principle of separate judicial establishments" was laid down for Bengal proper (with part of the North-West Provinces), Madras, and Bombay respectively, and ever since those dates the purpose has been kept in view of keeping the Courts separate from and independent of the Executive. The other Provinces—part of North-West, Punjab, Central Provinces, Burma, Assam, Oudh—in Stephen's time still laboured under the non-Regulation system, as it was called. In them the chief executive officer of a district still wielded powers as a Magistrate, as a Civil Judge, as a Revenue Officer in the widest sense of the term, and as the representative of Government in all local, special, and miscellaneous affairs; and in them practically all civil officers exercised both judicial and executive powers. Taken generally, the only officers in these Provinces who exercised purely judicial functions were the Judges of the highest Court in each Province and the Judges of Small Cause Courts. Stephen preferred the Regulation system, *i.e.*, the separation of executive and judicial functions, except in one point, and his view, as we shall see, has been adopted and acted upon in a large part of India. He put the arguments in favour of the non-Regulation system substantially thus:

1. The native is accustomed to look to a single local representative of Government—Deputy Commissioner he is called in the Punjab and elsewhere—as wielding all the powers of Government.

2. There is a danger of the executive power losing vigour if its acts are liable to review and interference by Courts presided over by a distinct set of officers in no way under the control of the chief executive officers.

3. Officers purely judicial are likely to be not in sympathy with the people and to fail to understand their character and genius, and so to be inferior even as Judges to executive officers, though in technical legal knowledge they may be superior; in short, under the non-Regulation system substantial *justice* is done, under the Regulation system *law* is strictly administered, but justice is not so abundantly done.

Even so long ago as 1870 it was clear that these arguments would not bear examination. Increase of business had made it impossible for Deputy Commissioners to deal adequately with all descriptions of public business, and the result was that both judicial and executive work was badly done. Officers entrusted with purely judicial functions, after six or eight or ten years' training in executive, revenue, and judicial work, are found to quickly excel the old-time jack-of-all-trades Deputy Commissioners in legal knowledge and correct mental attitude towards legal problems, and are at the same time by no means wanting in knowledge of the people and in sympathy with them. In fact, only three considerations militate against a complete separation of the judicial and executive sections of the public service: (a) Expense; (b) necessity for giving the executive officers criminal powers; (c) the executive officers being revenue officers, the necessity for setting them to preside over Courts to deal with revenue matters. The first point needs no comment. The second means that the Deputy Commissioner, who is responsible for the peace, prosperity, and good order of his district, must not in such

a country as India be reduced to the position of local engineer, health officer, way warden, etc. The Deputy Commissioner is and must be the local governor, and the administration of criminal justice is the indispensable condition of all government and the means by which it is in the last resort carried on. As regards the third point, it has always been recognised that there are whole sets of questions and disputes which, though judicial in their nature, are best dealt with by revenue officers, *e.g.*, landlord and tenant cases,\* partitions of land, compensation for tenants' improvements, ejectment of tenants. What is aimed at, then, is to give the chief executive officer and his assistants criminal powers and revenue powers; to let the whole civil litigation proper be dealt with by purely judicial officers; and to have purely judicial officers on the criminal side, to whose Courts appeals lie against all decisions of the chief executive officer and his assistants when they sit as Magistrates, and who also exercise general supervision and control over all the criminal work of that officer and his assistants. Expense has stood in the way of a complete realization of this ideal, but progress has been made.

In Bengal not much change was required. On the executive-criminal side there were in 1870 Collector-Magistrates, with helpers called Joint, Assistant, and Deputy Magistrates. These men all did executive and criminal work; but it has since been arranged that the Joint Magistrate† should be confined to judicial functions, and that the Collectors, while having the powers of a District Magistrate, should exercise them only in special cases. The Assistants are beginners, chiefly Europeans, and the Deputy Magistrates are members of the Provincial Service and chiefly natives. It would be tedious to give numbers.

\* As an exception, we may note that rent cases are treated in Bengal Proper as civil and not revenue suits.

† Stephen's suggestion to call them Assistant Judges has not been adopted.

The purely judicial officers were in 1870, and still are, the High Court Judges, the Civil and Sessions Judges, and Additional Judges, all of whom have both civil and criminal jurisdiction; the Subordinate Judges, Munsifs, and Judges of Small Cause Courts, all of whom have civil jurisdiction only. These remarks are applicable also to the Regulation districts of the North-West Provinces and to Madras, except that in Madras Sub-Judges used to be called Principal Sadr Amins. In Bombay there appear never to have been Joint Magistrates subordinate to the District Magistrate, but instead of them Assistant and Joint Judges under the Civil and Sessions Judges, and practically no change has been made. In the Punjab, on the other hand, which was in 1870 the typical non-Regulation province, if we describe the thing roughly, the official hierarchy under the Lieutenant-Governor was constituted thus:

1. Chief Court: purely judicial, supreme both on criminal and civil side.
2. Financial Commissioner: purely revenue.
3. Commissioner and Sessions Judge: executive, revenue, judicial, both criminal and civil; powers unlimited on original side civil, on criminal side power to pass capital sentences on natives; appellate powers both criminal and civil.
4. Deputy Commissioner and District Magistrate: executive, revenue, judicial; powers unlimited on original civil judicial side; power to pass sentences of two years' imprisonment on natives, and if specially empowered seven years; appellate powers as regards the lower grades of Magistrates and Civil Judges.
5. Assistant Commissioner: executive, revenue, judicial, both civil and criminal; powers as granted and according to grade.
6. Extra Assistant Commissioner: ditto.
7. Tahsildar: ditto.

It has been found impossible as yet to separate judicial and executive functions entirely, but a beginning has been made. The Commissioners no longer exercise any civil or



criminal judicial powers, their place having since 1884 been taken for these purposes by purely judicial Divisional and Sessions Judges ; Deputy Commissioners are civil Judges only in some of the smaller districts, and even there their sitting as such is a very rare occurrence ; Assistants and Extra Assistants, as of old, are expected to do executive and revenue work as well as judicial ; but there is a new class of purely civil judicial officer, the Munsif, and in every district there is a chief civil Judge, called according to circumstances District Judge or Additional District Judge, whose functions are in most places purely judicial. Assistants are mostly beginners, and Extra Assistants mostly natives. Efforts are made to select such of them as are most fitted for civil work to try civil cases ; and as besides this the bulk of the litigation is dealt with by the Munsifs, while appeals in civil cases go to District Judges and Divisional Judges, it can be safely said that in the Punjab civil judicial officers have largely become disconnected from and independent of the executive branch of the administration.

Turning to the other non-Regulation Provinces, we find that Oudh has reached about the same stage as the Punjab. In the Central Provinces the Commissioners have, or had until very recently, civil powers which they practically never exercised, and which are to be taken away or have very recently been taken away. The Commissioners appear to be still Sessions Judges, and some at least of the Deputy Commissioners seem still to be chief civil Judges for their districts. All the Deputy Commissioners are, of course, District Magistrates. In Sind there is no real division of the executive and the judicial branches of the service below the Sessions Judge. In Assam, except in Sylhet, where there are two Sub-Judges and ten Munsifs, executive officers are invested with judicial powers. Thus, while there is one District and Sessions Judge (purely judicial), there is a Commissioner (executive) who is also a Judge both civil and criminal ; the Deputy Commissioners seem

all to be also District Judges on the civil side; and the Assistants, Extra Assistants, Deputy Collectors, and Tahsildars have alike revenue, executive, criminal, and civil powers. In Assam very much remains to be done before the condition of affairs can be deemed satisfactory. Upper and Lower Burma appear to be separately organized. We can find no trace in the authorized establishment lists of any separate Divisional and Sessions Judges, and it would therefore seem that the Commissioners—under the Chief Court in Lower Burma and under the Judicial Commissioner in Upper Burma—perform the duties of such Judges. In some cases, at least, the Deputy Commissioners seem to be the chief civil Judges of their own districts.

The above sketch is imperfect, and does not claim to be perfectly accurate. No one who has not attempted the task can realize how misleading annual Departmental reports and establishment lists can be when drawn up by local experts. Phrases and titles and expressions may easily have one connotation in a Punjab report, and another in a report from Assam or Burma. On the whole, however, we can see that progress has been made in most of the Provinces in the past thirty years towards a rational system of judicial administration, the progress being more or less in proportion to the civilization of each Province, and the duration of British rule in it. It is not amiss to notice that in one matter a much-needed change for the better has been arrived at in Bengal. Until lately there were in that Province a number of salaried quasi-judicial officers called Amins, to whom commissions were issued by the Civil Courts for local inquiries, and for examination of accounts. The stipends of these men were small, and their temptations great. This system has been practically abolished by (local) Act ii. of 1899 in favour of the system of issue of commissions to trustworthy non-official persons chosen by the Courts, usually in consultation with the parties. Such persons are found less liable to corruption than the salaried Amin.

## III. TRAINING OF JUDICIAL OFFICERS.

Here we have to consider who are the men to be trained, how are they recruited, and what training do they get. Let us first take the Covenanted Indian Civilian. Able and intelligent as he usually is, when on, or soon after, arrival in India he takes his seat on the bench as a Magistrate and civil Judge, he lacks nearly every qualification necessary for the doing of justice. Except in rare instances, his knowledge of law is scanty in the extreme, his knowledge of the language is on a par with his knowledge of the law, and his knowledge of the people and their customs and ways of thought is absolutely nil. He can be trained, it has been suggested, by being given actual judicial and revenue powers, and work of an unimportant kind, which is the present system; by being set to watch work done by more experienced hands, who would act as tutors; by being required to spend some time as practising advocate on behalf of Government under the supervision of the regular law officers of the Crown, or as their assistant; or by going through a course of legal training in some central Indian law school. The second system, as the writer's experience in individual cases shows, is not productive of much benefit to the student, and is unduly harassing to the tutor. The third system is practically what Sir James Stephen recommended, but no attempt has been made to introduce it. As an English lawyer, fresh from practice at Westminster, he naturally thought highly of the English system, under which the bench is recruited from the Bar, and he seems to have anticipated good results as likely to arise from an attempt to train the young civilian as a barrister. We rather think he failed here to see clearly how different are the conditions of the problem in India and in England. With regard to the fourth system suggested, we think that, given really sound and practical lecturers on Indian law and custom, men not only possessing technical knowledge, but also learned in jurisprudence, and

in the theory and history of Indian law, a beginning would be made which an intelligent young man could, when entrusted with practical work, build up gradually into a real mastery of his subject. As matters stand, we do not hesitate to say that not one civilian Judge out of four is at any period of his service as good a lawyer as the more intelligent of the advocates who appear in his Court, though no doubt in the course of years passed as Assistant Magistrate, Revenue Officer, Executive Subordinate, and Subordinate Judge, he learns the languages of the country, and gains some acquaintance with the laws and customs of the people and their habits and ways of thought. In a country in which the Bar and the native bench are daily becoming stronger and more learned, this state of affairs is likely in time to become something like a scandal, the comparative success of the present system in the past affording no security for the future. In our opinion it is also of the first importance that the judicial branch of the service should be made as attractive as circumstances permit. The administration of justice is so important, and our power and credit in India depend so much on its purity and efficiency, that much would be gained by drawing into the judicial line men of first-class ability.

Apart from the Covenanted Civilian, we find in the judicial service in India members of the Provincial Services, who are chiefly natives, and the professional lawyers in the various High Courts, chiefly Europeans. About the latter we intend to say nothing here, but it is important to see how the Provincial Services are recruited. If our information is correct, the recruitment is in nearly every Province partly by competitive examination and partly by selection by Government. Nowhere is the competition open. There is an age-limit, and a nomination of the competitors by Government. The nominees for admission to competition are hardly ever professional lawyers, and if they are as a whole to be transformed into really learned Judges, for them also there should be a course of study like what has

been suggested for Covenanted Civilians. They are intelligent amateurs, and we must make them lawyers. The *selected* members of the Provincial Services are recruited from decently educated men of respectable family, not yet Government servants, and by promotion from office establishments—*i.e.*, from what is known as the *Amla* class—and, in some parts, for purely judicial posts, by selection from the native Bar. All these systems depend upon the care with which the selection or nomination is made, and, given due care in this matter, we think—and the impression is very general in India—that, as regards honesty, and probably also as regards ability, the educated competitioner is the best, the selected non-official the next best, and the recruit from the *Amla* the worst. All of them, except the professional lawyer, require more legal training than they at present obtain, and we venture to think that the Government of India might well take up the question how the present defects can best be remedied.

## BANKING IN INDIA.

BY HENRY DUNNING MACLEOD, BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

IN the numbers of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January and April, 1900, I published two articles on the intended reform of the monetary system of India, the most important economical event in the history of that Empire.

The monetary system of a country consists of its coinage and its system of banking. Up till 1853 India possessed an immense gold coinage which the best authorities estimated at about £120,000,000, but on January 1 of that year Lord Dalhousie suddenly, at a week's notice, totally demonetized the whole gold coinage, and silver became the sole legal tender throughout India. This led to great monetary troubles, and some attempts were made to have the gold coinage restored, but they all failed because they were founded on erroneous principles. But the continuous fall in the rupee produced increasing danger and embarrassments, till at last, in 1894, the Government found it necessary to close the mints to the free coinage of silver, and a Committee was appointed to devise a remedy.

I had for years been urging the Government to restore its ancient gold currency to India as the sole means of putting an end to its monetary troubles. The Indian Currency Committee requested me to submit to them a scheme for effecting this purpose, and, in accordance with this request, I submitted to them a detailed scheme for restoring its ancient gold currency to India, which the Committee substantially adopted in its entirety, and the Government of India has since carried it out, and the gold coinage was restored to India with the greatest facility and success, notwithstanding the lugubrious prognostications of many persons.

But the question of banking reform has hung fire. Notwithstanding that it was manifestly included in the reference

of the whole monetary system of India to the Committee, they entirely passed it over, and left it to the determination of the Indian Government, who have not yet settled on any definite plan. In my article in April, 1900, I said that there were two plans in contemplation : (1) to found a great State bank somewhat on the model of the Bank of England, with the sole right of issuing notes ; (2) to leave the development of banking open to free private competition. I entered a strong protest against granting a monopoly to a single bank, and earnestly advocated the leaving of banking open to free competition, and I am happy to say that my views have been very favourably received in influential quarters in India.

As the whole question of banking is now under the serious consideration of the Government of India, I propose in this paper to explain more fully and in greater detail the principles I advocated in my article of April, 1900.

But as the whole subject is so wholly misunderstood by the public, and as the common works on economics are so utterly defective in all matters relating to credit and banking, it is absolutely necessary to make some remarks on the fundamental technical terms of the subject to make my course of reasoning intelligible to my readers.

#### ON WEALTH.

Ancient writers unanimously held that exchangeability is the sole essence and principle of wealth, and that everything which is exchangeable, or which can be bought and sold, is wealth, no matter what its nature and its form may be.

Thus Aristotle says : " By the term 'wealth' we mean *all things* whose value can be measured in money." Adopting this principle, an ancient writer showed that labour is wealth, because persons can gain their living by their labour as well as by money. Demosthenes shows that personal credit is wealth and capital. So the famous Roman jurist Ulpian says : " For that is wealth which can be bought and sold."

And John Stuart Mill, exactly expressing the unanimous doctrines of the ancients, says: "Everything, therefore, forms a part of wealth which has a power of purchasing." This is the true definition of wealth as the foundation of economics.

But rights of a vast variety of forms and rights of action can be bought and sold or exchanged, and their value can be measured in money. Hence they are included under the term "wealth" by the above definition. So it is laid down as a fundamental principle in the great code or digest of Roman law, the Pandects of Justinian: "Under the term wealth not only ready money, but all things both movable and immovable, both corporeal and *rights*, are included."

It is therefore to be observed that there are three forms of wealth, or things that can be bought and sold or exchanged, or whose value can be measured in money: (1) material commodities; (2) personal qualities both in the form of labour and credit; and (3) abstract rights and rights of action. And there are no other forms of wealth besides these three, for there is nothing which can be bought and sold, or whose value can be measured in money, which is not of one of these three forms.

#### ON CREDIT.

In common parlance a merchant is said to enjoy good credit if he can go into the market and buy goods, not with money, but by giving his *promise* to pay money at some future time; that is, he creates a right of action against himself. The transaction is a sale or exchange as much as if it had been effected by money. The goods become his absolute property exactly as if he had paid for them in money. Hence a merchant's credit is purchasing power, exactly as money is. The merchant's purchasing power is his money *and* his credit. They are both therefore equally wealth, by Mill's definition. When a merchant purchases goods with his credit instead of with money, his credit is valued in money, because the seller of the goods accepts his credit as equal in value to money. Hence by Aristotle's definition



of wealth, which is now universally accepted, a merchant's personal credit is wealth.

But a merchant's credit does not enter into economics, which is purely the science of exchanges or of commerce, until he actually makes a purchase with his credit, *i.e.*, by giving his promise to pay at a future time, instead of actual money. And when he makes such a purchase the seller of the goods receives from the purchaser a right of action to demand the price in money for them at a future time. Now, it is this right of action which in law and economics is termed "a credit," because people accept it in the faith, belief and confidence that the debtor will pay it in money when it becomes due. And this right of action or credit is also termed "a debt," and this right of action or credit may be used to circulate in commerce exactly like money. Thus, in every operation on credit a *new property* is always created.

Thus, it is to be observed that in law and economics the meaning of "a credit" is "a right of action to compel some other person to pay or do something."

Now, as the sole essence and principle of wealth is exchangeability, this right of action is wealth for just the same reason that anything else which is exchangeable is wealth.

Thus Ulpian says : "We are accustomed to buy and sell debts payable at a certain event and on a certain day. For that is wealth which can be bought and sold."

So it is said in the digest : "Rights of action—*i.e.*, credits or debts—are properly reckoned as goods and chattels"; and also : "Under the term 'wealth' both rights and rights of action are included."

Thus, rights and rights of action possess the quality of exchangeability, which is the sole essence of wealth ; and therefore the whole mass of circulating rights of action, credit, or debts are a vast amount of valuable or exchangeable property just like so much money, or corn, or timber, or any other.

The system of credit consists in the creation, the circulation, and the extinction of these rights of action, credits, or debts.

In great mercantile countries like England these rights of action, credits, or debts have almost completely superseded money in the operations of commerce. Money in modern commerce is chiefly used to extinguish credits or debts which do not extinguish each other.

In modern commerce rights and rights of action form articles of export and import between countries, and influence the exchanges exactly in the same manner as material commodities.

Having made these preliminary observations, which are indispensably necessary for a due understanding of the subject, we now come to the main purpose of this paper, which is to advocate the institution of a solid system of banking in India. But we must first say some words on the nature of a bank and banking, as the common ideas on the subject are entirely erroneous.

#### ON THE MEANING OF "BANK."

The word "bank" originated in this way: In 1171 the city of Venice was at war both with the empires of the East and the West. Its finances were in a state of great disorder, and the Great Council levied a forced loan of 1 per cent. on all the property of the citizens, and promised them interest at the rate of 5 per cent. Commissioners were appointed to manage the loan, who were called *camera degli imprestiti*. Such a loan has several names in Italian, but the most usual one is *monte*, a joint stock fund. This first loan was called the *monte vecchio*, the old loan. Subsequently two other similar loans were contracted, and called the *monte nuovo* and *monte nuovissimo*. In exchange for the money, which became the actual property of the Government, to be employed for public purposes, the citizens received stock certificates, or credits, which they

might transfer to anyone else, and the Commissioners kept an office for the transfer of the stock and the payment of the dividends.

At this time the Germans were masters of a great part of Italy, and the German word *bank*, meaning a heap or mound, came to be used synonymously with *monte*, and was Italianized into *banco*, and the public loans were called indifferently *monti* or *banchi*. The word *banco* simply meant a public loan or a public debt.

Thus, in the "Volpone" of Ben Jonson, the scene of which is laid in Venice, Volpone says: "I turn no monies in the public bank"—meaning, "I do not dabble in the Venetian funds."

An English writer, Benbrigge, in 1646 speaks of the "three bankes" at Venice, meaning the three public loans or *monti*.

So in Florian and Torriani's Italian Dictionary, in 1659, it says: "*Monte*, a standing bank or mount of money."

So a recent writer, Cibrario, says: "Regarding the theory of credit, which I have said was invented by the Italian cities, it is known that the first bank or public debt [il primo banco o debito pubblico] was erected in Venice in 1171. A *monte*, or public debt [un monte o debito pubblico], was founded in Florence in 1336."

This shows that *banco* = *monte* = a public debt.

So Blackstone says: "At Florence in 1344 Government owed £60,000, and, being unable to pay it, formed the principal into an aggregate sum, called metaphorically a mount or bank."

And innumerable citations might be made from the Italian economists to a similar effect.

The same was the meaning of the word "bank" when introduced into English. Thus Bacon says: "Let it be no bank or common stock."

So when the word "bank" was introduced into our American colonies before the revolutionary war, Professor Sumner says: "'Bank,' as the word was used before the

revolutionary war, meant only a batch of paper money issued either by the Government or a corporation. The impression seems to have remained popular that the essential idea of a bank is the issuing of notes." The notes issued in banks or masses as loans were pure paper money. So in a valuable history of the notes issued in the United States, it is said that an issue of paper money to the amount of £50,000 authorized to be issued by the Treasury was styled a "bank."

The essential feature of all these banks was this: the subscribers advanced the money as a loan or *mutuum*. It thus became the actual property of the borrowers; and in exchange for their money the lenders received a credit—*i.e.*, a certificate or promise to pay interest, which they might transfer to anyone else. And these persons whose business it was to trade like these banks—*i.e.*, to buy money, and in exchange for it to issue credit of various sorts—were termed "bankers," and only those.

Thus, as a technical term in business, "to bank" means to issue credit.

#### ON THE BUSINESS OF BANKING.

The common ideas on the nature of banking are entirely erroneous.

Thus, the common idea of banking is that a banker borrows money from one set of persons and lends it to other persons, and the profits of the banker consist in the difference of the rates he pays for the money he borrows and the rates he receives for the money he lends.

So a report of the House of Commons says: "The use of money, and that only, they regard as the province of a bank, whether of a private person or incorporation, or the banking department of the Bank of England."

These ideas are utterly erroneous.

I must now explain how a *banker* makes a profit by the money his customers sell to him.

Suppose that his customers pay in £10,000 to their

account; they cede the absolute property in the money to him: it is a *mutuum* or *creditum*. The banker buys the money from his customers, and he may use it for any purpose he pleases. In exchange for the money he creates an equal amount of credit in their favour in his books; that is, he creates rights of action against himself to an equal amount, giving his customers the right to demand back an equal amount of money from him at any time they please, and also the right to transfer their rights of action to anyone else they please, exactly as if they were money, and the banker engages to pay the transferees the same as his own customer.

In the technical language of banking these rights of action, credits, or debts are termed "deposits." It must be carefully observed that in the technical language of banking a deposit is not the money deposited, as is so commonly supposed, but the mere abstract right of action to demand a sum of money from the banker.

After such an operation, a banker's accounts would stand thus:

| LIABILITIES. |     |     |         | ASSETS. |     |     |         |
|--------------|-----|-----|---------|---------|-----|-----|---------|
| Deposits     | ... | ... | £10,000 | Cash... | ... | ... | £10,000 |

Now, though his customers have rights of action against the banker to demand exactly an equal sum of money from him as they have paid in, yet persons would not pay money to their banker if they meant to draw it out immediately, just as no one would spend all the money he has at once.

Nevertheless, some will want to draw out part of their funds; but if some customers want to draw out money, others, probably, will pay in about an equal amount. Observation shows that in ordinary and quiet times a banker's balance will seldom differ by more than one thirty-sixth part from day to day.

The banker's cash is, then, like a column of gold with a slight ripple on the surface, and if he retains one-tenth in cash to meet any demands that may be made on him, that is ample and abundant in all ordinary times.

If then, in the above example, the banker retains £1,000 in cash to meet any demands upon him, he has £9,000 to trade with and make a profit by; and it is just in the methods in which bankers trade that so much misconception exists.

It is commonly supposed that when a banker has the £9,000 to trade with he employs it in purchasing securities, such as bills of exchange, to that amount, and that he receives a profit only on the £9,000. But that is a complete misconception of the nature of banking.

*A banker never buys bills of exchange with money; that is the business of a bill-discounter or money-lender.*

The way in which a banker trades is this: He sees that £1,000 in cash is sufficient to support liabilities of £10,000 in credit; consequently he argues that £10,000 in cash will support liabilities to ten times that amount in credit.

One of the most eligible methods for a banker to trade is to buy or discount good commercial bills, and he buys these bills exactly in the same way as he bought the cash—that is, by creating credits or debts in his books, or rights of action against himself to the amount of the bills, deducting at the same time the interest or profit agreed upon, which is called the discount.

A “banker,” therefore, invariably buys bills of exchange with his own credit, and never with cash—exactly in the same way as he bought the cash. That is, he buys a right of action payable at a future time by creating and issuing a right of action payable on demand; and this right of action or credit is also in banking language termed a “deposit,” equally as the right of action created and issued to buy the cash.

Suppose that a banker buys £40,000 of bills of exchange at three months, and that the agreed-upon profit is 4 per cent.; then the sum to be retained on the bills is £400. Consequently, in exchange for bills to the amount of £40,000 he would create rights of action, credits or debts to the amount of £39,600, which are termed “deposits.”

Hence, after discounting these bills his accounts would stand thus :

| LIABILITIES. |     |         | ASSETS.           |     |               |
|--------------|-----|---------|-------------------|-----|---------------|
| Deposits     | ... | £49,600 | Cash              | ... | £10,000       |
|              |     |         | Bills of exchange | ... | £40,000       |
|              |     |         |                   |     | <hr/> £50,000 |
|              |     |         | Balance of profit |     | £400          |

—the balance of £400 being his own property or profit.

By this process the banker has added £39,600 in credit to the previously existing cash, and his profit is clear; he has not gained 4 per cent. on the £9,000 in cash, but 4 per cent. on the £40,000 of bills he has bought.

Thus, it is evident that a banker's profits depend entirely on the quantity of credit he can maintain in circulation in excess of the cash he holds in reserve.

Thus, it is seen that the very essence and nature of a bank is to create and issue credit payable on demand, which credit is intended to circulate like money, and perform all the functions of money.

A bank is, therefore, not an office for borrowing and lending money, but it is a "manufactory of credit"; as Mr. Cazenove well said, it is these banking credits—and not money—which are the loanable capital; and, as Bishop Berkeley said, "a bank is a gold-mine."

It is universally the custom to speak of the money market. But this is a great error. For no money is bought or sold. It is purely credits which are bought and sold; and therefore it ought to be called the credit market.

It is now seen how utterly erroneous it is to define a banker to be a person who borrows money from one set of persons to lend it to others. The true definition of a banker is this :

*A banker is a trader who buys money and rights of action, credits or debts, payable at a future time, by creating and issuing rights of action, credits or debts payable on demand.*

It is not necessary to enter more fully into the details of banking here, because what I have said is sufficient to impress upon my readers that it is utterly erroneous to suppose that a bank is merely an office for borrowing and lending money. Its express function is to create and issue circulating rights of action or credits several times exceeding the amount of cash it holds in reserve, and these circulating credits perform exactly the same functions as money in the production and circulation of commodities as money. They are exactly equivalent to an augmentation of so much money, and are by so much an increase of the capital of the country.

Thus, J. B. Say says : " Every private person can sign an ordinary bill and give it in payment of merchandise, provided that the seller consents to receive it as if it were money. This seller, in his turn, if he is the buyer of other merchandise, can give the same bill in payment. The second acquirer can pass it to a third with the same object. There is an obligation which circulates : it serves him who wishes to buy : it fills the office of a sum of money.

" The value of a sign depends on the value of the thing signified ; but in order that this value may be exactly as great as the thing of which it is the pledge, the payment of the bill must not only be certain, but demandable on the instant.

" If bills of credit could replace completely metallic money, it is evident that a bank of circulation veritably augments the sum of national wealth : because in this case the metallic wealth becoming superfluous as an agent of circulation, and nevertheless preserving its own value, becomes disposable, and can serve other purposes. But how does this substitution take place ? What are its limits ? What classes of society make their profits of *the new funds added to the capital of the nation ?*

" According as a bank issues its notes, and the public consents to receive them on the same footing as metallic money, the number of monetary units increases.

" We must not, however, think that the value withdrawn



from the sum of money and added to the sum of capital merchandise equals the sum of notes issued. These only represent money when they can always be paid on demand, and for that the bank is obliged to keep in its coffers, and consequently to withdraw from circulation a certain sum of money. If, suppose, it issues 100,000,000 of notes, it will withdraw perhaps 40,000,000 in specie, which it will put in reserve to meet the payments which may be demanded of it. Therefore, if it adds to the quantity of money in circulation 100,000,000, and if it withdraws 40,000,000 from circulation, it is as if it added only 60,000,000.

“We now wish to learn what class of society enjoys the use of *this new capital*.”

Say then goes on to explain how this *new capital* is employed, and who reaps the profit of it.

So also Adam Smith and John Stuart Mill class bank-notes and bills of exchange under the titles of circulating and productive capital. Demosthenes, when credit was only in its crudest and most undeveloped state, said: “If you are ignorant of this, that credit is the greatest capital of all towards the acquisition of wealth, you would be utterly ignorant.”

Daniel Webster, the great American jurist and statesman, said: “Credit has done more to enrich nations than all the mines of all the world.”

Credit acts upon prices exactly as an equal sum of money. It was shown by tables laid before the House of Commons that in this great mercantile country metallic money forms less than 1 per cent. of prices, and that credit forms more than 99 per cent. And this same is true of all great mercantile countries, such as the United States.

In Scotland it is shown by the official return of the banks that with a reserve of gold of £5,000,000 they maintain in circulation credits to the amount of £100,000,000, and these hundred millions of credit perform exactly the same functions as an equal amount of gold in developing the wealth and prosperity of the country.

The banking credits in the whole United Kingdom now amount to nearly £1,000,000,000 and these thousand millions of credit are now, for all practical purposes, the current coin of the realm. The Mint authorities, I understand, do not estimate the actual gold coin in the country as more than £70,000,000.

It is these vast amounts of circulating credits which have reduced the usual rate of interest in this country to 2 per cent. in commerce, and often less than that..

When the rupee was continuously depreciating in India, a considerable number of persons, chiefly the tea-planters, contended that it was beneficial to them, and strongly opposed the restoration of the gold currency.

But such ideas are wholly delusive; a constantly depreciating currency necessarily and infallibly brings a country to bankruptcy and ruin. What is wanted in India is to provide an additional and supplemental currency to money, but which shall always be of exactly the same value as gold at the cheapest rate.

It is by means of the great banks founded in Germany that she has attained her present commercial eminence.

It is, then, of the first importance for the progress of India, in wealth and prosperity, to supply her with a solid amount of circulating credit maintained at an absolute equality in value with gold; and that can only be done by creating powerful joint stock banks issuing notes.

#### ON FOUNDING A SYSTEM OF BANKING IN INDIA.

I now come to the main purpose of this paper, which is to consider which is the best system of banking to found in India. The Indian Government has now a *tabula rasa* on the question, and common-sense shows that it should take the very best care to institute that system of banking which is proved by reason and experience to be the best, and which may last for ever.

There are, then, two systems which are in contemplation :

(1) to found a single great State bank somewhat similar in principle to the Bank of England, and to confer upon it the sole right to issue notes; (2) to leave the development of banking entirely open to private enterprise, and to permit the banks so founded to issue notes. But there is first of all a most important question to be considered.

#### ON THE COMMON LAW RIGHT OF BANKS TO ISSUE NOTES.

It was long a superstition that banks require a special authorization by Act of Parliament to issue notes. It was supposed that promissory notes payable to bearer on demand were first issued by the bankers who came into existence in the time of the Commonwealth. And when these bankers' notes were first brought before the courts of law in the time of Charles II. the judges held that they were perfectly legal and valid at common law, just the same as merchants' bills of exchange.\*

But soon a strange conflict of decisions arose. In a series of cases it was held that the "bearer" had no action against the acceptor of a bill, or the maker of a note, drawn payable to bearer; that promissory notes were not within the custom of merchants, and could not be declared upon as bills of exchange; that they were illegal at common law, and that they could not be sued upon in any form as instruments.

The Bank of England was founded while the law was in this state, so it was enacted that the Bank might issue notes payable on demand to bearer to the amount of £1,200,000, which was the sum of its capital lent to Government. It was enacted that all the bills of credit, or notes, under the seal of the corporation given to any person, might by indorsement of such person be freely assigned to any person who should voluntarily accept them, and so by such assignees *toties quoties* by indorsement thereon; and all such assignees might sue in their own names.

\* *Shelden v. Hentley*, 1681 (2 Shen., 1601); *Hinton's case*, 1681 (2 Show., 235); *Williams v. Williams*, 1693 (Carth., 269); *Lambert v. Oakes*, 1699 (1 Lord Raym., 443); *Bromwich v. Loyd* (2 Lutw., 1593).

It was also a superstition greatly propagated by Byles, from totally misunderstanding the doctrine held by Lord Holt, that instruments under seal, deeds, or specialties made payable to bearer, were not transferable, and that the bearer had no right of action on them, and that if a bill of exchange were drawn under seal, as a deed or specialty, it ceased to be a bill, and was not transferable.

But in 1868 I was selected after an open competition at the Bar by the Law Digest Commissioners to prepare the great national digest of the law of bank-notes and bills of exchange, and I was invested by them with the power and the duty to declare the law upon all disputed points in the doctrines then currently held by the courts of law upon this subject. In the historical investigation which I laid before the Digest Commissioners I showed that all these doctrines were pure delusions and moonshine, and only proceeded from the dense ignorance of the judges of mercantile law and the judgments of the courts of law for 550 years. I found that up to the middle or end of the seventeenth century all bills of exchange were drawn under seal in the form of deeds or specialties; and deeds or specialties both in the form of orders to pay and promises to pay, and payable to bearer on demand, were in common use in the days of Edward IV.; and the result of my investigation was that by the common law of England all obligations, whether in the form of deeds, bonds or specialties, or in the form of simple writing, are transferable when made so by the obligor himself, and the transferee may sue upon them.

It follows, then, that the right to issue notes payable to bearer on demand is not a privilege which requires to be conferred by Act of Parliament, but it is a common law right, which can only be taken away by Act of Parliament.

Hence it is a common law right of all persons, societies, and banks to issue notes payable to bearer on demand, exactly the same as bills of exchange; and to grant the privilege of issuing notes to some banks, and to refuse it to

others, is a direct violation of the Statute of Monopolies of James I., which declares that it is illegal at common law to grant monopolies and privileges in matters of commerce. It is just as great a violation of the common law to grant a privilege of issuing notes to some banks, and to deprive other banks of it, as it would be to grant the right of issuing bills of exchange to some merchants, and to deny it to all others. And ample experience has proved that the monopoly granted to the Bank of England in direct violation of the common law has brought incalculable evils on the country. It is now unanimously acknowledged that the banking system of Scotland, in which, after a certain short time, no monopoly of banking was permitted, is vastly superior to the banking system of England, where the monopoly of the Bank of England for 130 years prevented the institution of powerful joint stock banks in England. At length some lynx-eyed economists discovered a flaw in the Act granting the monopoly to the Bank, and a joint stock bank was founded not issuing notes, according to the then practice of the London bankers, who in 1794 had of their own accord discontinued issuing notes, and restricted their customers to the use of cheques. The Bank of England took alarm at this attempt, but the Government took the opinion of their law officers, and they declared that it was a common law right to form joint stock banks, and, as I have said, they had at common law the right to issue notes, but they were deprived of this right by the monopoly clauses of the Bank Charter Acts.

Now, as Englishmen carry their common law rights along with them, I am prepared to contend before any court of law that the presently existing joint stock banks in India have a common law right to issue notes, if they be so disposed, and that the fancied monopoly to issue notes conferred by the Indian legislature has in no way whatever taken away this right.

It would be far beyond the scope of this paper to give a history of banking in Scotland and England, and to show

how infinitely more the Scottish system has conduced to the wealth and prosperity of Scotland than the English system has to that of England. For full details on this subject I must refer to my "Theory and Practice of Banking" or my "Theory of Credit," and those who are responsible for founding a banking system in India ought carefully to consider these works.

But in considering which is the best system of banking to be founded in India, we have to take into account a question of the gravest and most momentous consequence. What we have already said is sufficient to condemn the plan of instituting a single great State bank with the exclusive right to issue notes. It is a direct violation of the common law of England, and, though no doubt the Bank of England exists as a great fact created by Act of Parliament, and has received a monopoly (with a few exceptions) of issuing notes, such an Act in no way affects the common law rights of Englishmen in India. No English-speaking nation will tolerate a dominant bank. There was one for a considerable time in the United States, but it was at length suppressed as an unmitigated nuisance which had caused enormous evils to the country. Canada will not tolerate a dominant bank; neither will the States which constitute the Commonwealth of Australia. In the present state of economic science, the country would not tolerate the creation of such a bank as a new institution. The monopoly of the Bank of England was granted when the country was in the lowest state of economic ignorance. Anyone who will take the trouble to read the simple history of banking in England in my "Theory and Practice of Banking" or my "Theory of Credit" will see what incalculable disasters the monopoly of the Bank of England has brought on the country. The banking system of England is now struggling to emancipate itself from this monopoly. Stupendous joint stock banks have grown up whose aggregate entirely overshadows the Bank of

England, and who will do so more and more as time goes on. The next great commercial crisis will probably convince the Government that it is absolutely indispensable to pay off the Government debt to the Bank to enable it to put an end to its monopoly of issuing notes, and to restore to the great joint stock banks their common law right to issue notes if it seem good to them.

I trust that, if these pages be considered by the commercial community of India, they will offer a strenuous resistance to the plan of founding in India a system of banking which is utterly condemned by economic science and practical experience in England, and which no other English-speaking nation will tolerate.

#### ON COMMERCIAL CRISES AND MONETARY PANICS.

I have now to bring forward another consideration of the gravest importance in founding a new banking system in India.

If nothing but gentle zephyrs blew, a ship might be half rotten in her hull and masts, and cordage and sails, and yet she might do well enough ; but suppose that a typhoon assails her, all her masts will go by the board and she will probably founder. So a system of banking may be thoroughly faulty and erroneous, but in quiet and peaceful times it may do well enough and produce no great mischief; but when commercial tempests and typhoons assail it, it will be utterly swept away and bring the whole country to bankruptcy and ruin.

India is now becoming a great commercial country, and with our modern system of credit commercial crises are innate and will inevitably occur, and erroneous banking legislation and bad management of banks may bring on monetary panics, and if these be erroneously dealt with they may bring bankruptcy and ruin on a country.

The Indian Government has now a *tabula rasa* to found a permanent system of banking in India, and it is indispensably necessary to weigh and consider, not only what

system of banking may do well enough in quiet and peaceable times, but also which system is best adapted to meet commercial crises and to prevent them degenerating into monetary panics.

Ever since 1793 we have had a series of periodical commercial crises and monetary panics, so that we have ample experience on the subject by which to come to a definite conclusion.

Ever since then there have been two conflicting theories as to the policy of banks in a commercial crisis. The first I may term the restrictive theory. It is that in a great commercial crisis banks should rigorously restrict their issues of notes in the vain attempt to regard their own position only, and that they should refuse to extend any support to the mercantile community, and leave them entirely to their own resources. The second theory I may term the expansive theory ; it is that banks should extend their support to all merchants who can prove themselves to be solvent, but may have their resources in forms not immediately available to be turned into cash.

Both these theories have been tried in practice, and their results are positively certain beyond dispute. It would be quite impossible to enter into full details of all these crises and panics in this paper, but they will be found in my "Theory and Practice of Banking" and in my "Theory of Credit." I may, however, very briefly state the results.

In 1793 the Bank sternly adopted the restrictive theory ; and when by so doing universal bankruptcy was imminent, the Government came forward and issued Exchequer bills to a very moderate amount to merchants who could prove themselves solvent, and the panic vanished at once.

In 1797 the Bank of England, by a course of erroneous management, brought on a very severe monetary panic, which was only allayed by an Act permitting the Bank to suspend payments in cash and to extend its issues.

In 1810 the extravagant issues of the Bank and of multitudes of private bankers caused a great depreciation



of the bank-note. Among other suggestions, it was proposed to the Bullion Committee to impose a limit on the Bank's power of issuing notes. But the Bullion Committee—the ablest committee on an economical question that ever sat—emphatically condemned the idea of imposing a limit on the Bank's power of issuing notes, because it said that it would deprive the Bank of the power of assisting the mercantile community in periods of distress.

In the great crisis of 1825 the Bank adopted the restrictive theory with the most merciless rigour for three days. Several London bankers became bankrupt whose assets realized forty shillings in the pound. When the whole mercantile community was on the verge of ruin, it suddenly changed its policy and issued abundance of notes, and the panic immediately passed away.

In 1839, when the Bank itself was in the direst distress, a great crisis took place. The difficulties of the American houses in London and Liverpool were so great that they had to apply to the Bank, and after a rigorous examination of their position the Bank advanced £6,000,000 of notes to support them, and thus saved the country from a stupendous monetary panic.

Thus practical experience proved that in a great commercial crisis the restrictive theory carried out in all its rigour would infallibly bring the whole mercantile community to bankruptcy and ruin, and that it was indispensably necessary to adopt the expansive theory to avoid that catastrophe.

Then came the Bank Act of 1844, which was in reality the scheme of Lord Overstone and Colonel Torrens, but which was fathered by Sir Robert Peel in the House of Commons. In 1819 Sir Robert Peel said in the House of Commons that he never would at any time, however distant, adopt the principle of imposing a limit on the Bank's power of issuing notes. Nevertheless in 1844 he did it. He had adopted the strange fancy that all commercial crises were produced by the excessive issues of bank-notes, which

the least experience of practical banking would have shown him to be delusive, and he fancied that if he could only restrict the issue of notes he would thereby prevent commercial crises in future. It would be impossible here to give any details of the reasons and arguments upon which the Bank Act of 1844 was founded, but I have given them in my "Theory and Practice of Banking" and in my "Theory of Credit." It is sufficient to say that it is founded on assertions of mercantile law which would at once excite the amazement and the condemnation of any court of law; and, moreover, the Bank Act entirely fails to carry out the theory of its authors. However, Sir Robert Peel, having thought that he had prevented commercial crises in future, stereotyped the restrictive theory by Act of Parliament. But three years after that the great commercial crisis of 1847 blew all the theories of the Bank Act to the winds. It showed that restricting the issues of notes had no power whatever to prevent a crisis, and it was found necessary to revert to the expansive theory to save the whole mercantile community from ruin.

I need not say that the great commercial crises of 1857 and 1866 confirmed all preceding experience, and it was again found indispensable to adopt the expansive theory.

In the year 1855, after the first commercial crisis after the passing of the Act, I was in the direction of a bank, and a sharp monetary crisis came on. I had then the operations of banking going on under my own eyes. I had carefully read the current works on banking, and I saw that their notions on the subject were utterly erroneous. I had also studied the history and the policy of the Bank of England at various periods, and had investigated the doctrines and principles upon which the Bank Act of 1844 was founded, and I saw that they were pure chimeras, and had not prevented the great crisis of 1847. In the course of this crisis circumstances came to my knowledge which, though well known to many men in business, I had never seen mentioned in any book, nor before any Parliamentary

Committee, nor in any debate in Parliament, which satisfied me that the true sole and supreme power of controlling credit and paper currency is the RATE OF DISCOUNT. My practical experience in banking, and my study of the history of banking, showed me that the idea that speculation and commercial crises can be prevented by limiting the power of issuing notes is a pure chimera. The most terrible commercial crisis and monetary panic in the eighteenth century took place in countries where there were no bank-notes except those issued in accordance with the doctrines of Lord Overstone. I have shown that the Bank Act had no power whatever to prevent wild speculation, commercial crises, and monetary panics. It was assumed that the great crisis and panic of 1825 was due to the excessive issue of notes, but this is only partially true. The real culprit was the Bank of England. From the beginning of 1824 the bullion in the Bank began to drain away, and the Bank never took the least measure to stop the drain by raising the rate of discount. If the Bank had raised its rate of discount, it would have strangled this excessive speculation and the excessive issue of notes. I may state shortly that all monetary panics have been brought on by the Bank's neglecting to arrest a drain of bullion from its coffers by raising the rate of discount. In my "Theory and Practice of Banking," published in 1856, I stated that the true supreme power of controlling credit was by *adjusting the rate of discount by the state of the bullion in the Bank and by the state of the foreign exchanges.*

Ricardo and the Bullion Report utterly denied that the absolute quantity of paper at any time is any criterion of its being defective or excessive. They maintained that the only criterion of the legitimate quantity of paper—*i.e.*, credit—is the market price of bullion and the state of the foreign exchanges. And their doctrines, after having been temporarily submerged by the fantastic theories of Lord Overstone and his sect, who beguiled Sir Robert Peel

away from his sager Mentors, have re-emerged triumphant, and are now universally allowed to be true by all practical men of business in the world.

I published my doctrine above stated in my "Theory and Practice of Banking" in 1856, and from that time forward these principles have been understood and acted upon by the directors of the Bank, and they very shortly received the most satisfactory confirmation, because in the Committee of the Commons on the great monetary panic of 1857, Mr. Norman, who had been one of the leading supporters of Lord Overstone's dogmas and of the Bank Act of 1844, candidly acknowledged that the directors of the Bank had found in the rate of discount amply sufficient means of controlling their issues. In 1858 the Bank of France was exempted by law from the usury laws in order to enable them to adopt this principle. And, indeed, it is now acknowledged and adopted by every bank in the world, so that no more need be said about it.

I will now explain why in a great commercial country it is absolutely indispensable that joint stock banks should possess the unlimited power of issuing notes. As the whole operations of commerce are carried on by credit, in process of time a vast amount of unsound credit is generated by incompetent and fraudulent traders, and this is gradually accumulated, just as the ill humours of the body are gathered in an impostume, which bursts in the end. So this unsound mass of credit in course of time bursts in a commercial crisis, and if this crisis is unskilfully treated it results in a monetary panic, which if also unskilfully treated may bring the whole commercial community, banking and mercantile, to bankruptcy and ruin.

Now, in such a crisis a very considerable number of traders will be found to be hopelessly insolvent; these, of course, must be allowed to go. But also many will be found to have ample funds and to be perfectly solvent, but their resources may be in forms not immediately convertible into cash, and if they do not receive assistance

they necessarily become bankrupt. These can only receive assistance from powerful joint stock banks which have the power of issuing notes. No mere bank credits which can only be drawn upon by cheques will do. In order to make use of these, merchants must draw their balances in gold. What their creditors wish to see is their command over solid means of meeting their liabilities. But the notes of a powerful joint stock bank are accepted as equal in value to gold.

In our advanced state of commerce, merchants' liabilities are not discharged in gold or bank-notes, as many ignorant people suppose, but by the creation of new bank credits. A constant creation of bank credits is therefore indispensably necessary. The only question is at what price they shall be sold. If banks refuse to create new credits to enable merchants to meet their liabilities, they immediately draw their balances in gold. It is an acknowledged maxim among bankers that in times of commercial crisis *an excessive restriction of credit causes and produces a run for gold*, as has been demonstrated in every great commercial crisis since 1847, when it was shown that if the Bank Act had not been suspended the whole banking and mercantile community would have been involved in one universal crash.

I would, therefore, with the greatest solemnity and earnestness entreat the whole commercial community of India, both banking and mercantile, to stand up for their common law rights as Englishmen, and by every means in their power to urge the Government of India to abandon any idea they may have had of instituting a great State bank on the model of the Bank of England, with the sole right of issuing a limited number of notes, and to leave the development of banking open to free, private competition, in accordance with the acknowledged doctrines of modern economic science and the common law. And I should greatly rejoice if some leading bank in India would commence to issue notes, and, if their doing so was opposed by

the Government, that the whole commercial community would combine to carry the case up to the Privy Council, when the whole question of the right of issuing notes would be decided by the principles laid down in my "Theory of Credit," with the unanimous assent of the Law Digest Commissioners and the unanimous judgment of the Court of Exchequer Chamber, and which are now by statute the law of the land.

NOTE.—This article is only an outline and sketch of the important subject with which it deals, and to apprehend fully the reasons and arguments of the able and experienced author, we beg to refer our readers to his exhaustive work titled "Theory of Credit" (Longmans and Co., London), which is the only work that sets forth the law of credit as it is at present established, and the principles and mechanism of banking. This work discusses with great acuteness and ability this important question in all its bearings.—ED.

## A SPECIAL MISSION TO MOROCCO.\*

BY PROFESSOR DR. E. MONTET.

It was in 1891, at the International Congress of Orientalists held in London, that I first planned my scheme for a visit to a Musulman country for the purpose of making inquiries on the spot into the present condition of Islam from a religious point of view. This long-meditated project resulted in a brief scheme, which was published in this Review in April, 1898, pp. 427-429, from information I had furnished to the late lamented Dr. Leitner. In 1899 the plan I had worked out was definitely adopted, and hence I resolved to visit the most conservative as well as the most backward country of Islam—Morocco—being certain to obtain a good harvest of interesting and fresh facts in the inquiry which I had in view.

What induced me to prosecute this inquiry was the fact of the existence there, of numerous religious fraternities who have made this corner of Africa the country *par excellence* of Musulman congregations. The object of these congregations in spirit and propagation is so great at the present day, that it is indispensable that one should go and study them on the spot, at their headquarters, and place of origin, in order to be able to fathom the spirit, and to appreciate fairly the present state of Islam. One will at once understand the bearing of such an inquiry on European politics.

The Oriental Institute at Woking has had the honour to point out the importance of such investigations, and to take the initiative as regards the special mission which I have been able to accomplish. Two learned societies of Geneva—the Société Académique and the Société Auxiliaire des Arts et des Sciences—have, by their efforts and subsidies, contributed largely to the expense of the mission. The

\* See p. 201, July, 1901.

Swiss Federal Council was good enough to take an interest in my enterprise, and obtained for me in Morocco the protection of the French Government. The French Legation in Tangier and the French Consuls in Moroccan territory have rendered me great services. I can also say the same of the Italian Legation and Consuls, and add to them those of England, America, Germany, and Spain, with whom I came in contact. I hope that they will each and all accept this expression of my gratitude.

I was accompanied throughout my journey by a friend, who proved to be, at the same time, one of my former pupils, a Mr. E. Soudan, a Lieutenant in the Artillery of the Swiss Army. This friend, whose very name predestinated a journey to Africa, had resided eight years in Morocco, and was well acquainted with the Arab dialect and customs. His presence in my caravan was of great benefit to me.

I must not omit the Moroccans who were under my orders, and to whose fidelity and devotion I can amply testify.

Leaving Geneva in the middle of October, 1900, I travelled to Morocco by traversing Spain, where I wished to study several monuments of Arabic art (at Toledo, Cordova, etc.), and arrived at the end of the month at Tangier. I devoted the early part of November in making up a caravan, and also in opening important relations with the inhabitants of the districts through which I intended to travel.

My first intention on arriving in Tangier was to proceed to Fez, but the French *Chargé d'Affaires* (the Minister, Mr. Revoil, being absent) prevented me from going, on account of the insecurity which had existed in that town since the assassination of Marcos Ezagui (in June, 1900), and the unrest which manifested itself in Tangier as to the fate of the few Europeans residing in this capital; so I determined to visit, in the first place, the South of Morocco, postponing until my return the journey to Fez. I have



never had occasion to regret this decision, as will be seen further on.\*

Marcos Ezagui was a Jew of Fez, and a naturalized American subject, after a voyage to the United States. His horrible death (he was burned alive) was unfortunately caused by his provoking and arrogant attitude, and by the great imprudence he committed in discharging his revolver in the public street at a Moroccan who had struck him with a stick.

I set out with the sole intention of studying religious fraternities. Circumstances, however, arose which gave to my journey other results. Not only have I studied with great difficulty and much labour Musulman fraternities, but have devoted myself to geographical researches and to some questions of a political nature.

At present I shall only treat of the geographical and political aspect of my journey, reserving the religious side of it for a special and more exhaustive report.

Leaving Tangier on November 15, we set out in the first place for Arzila, traversing the mountainous district which separates these two towns. Arzila, or Azila, is only a small town, extremely dirty, like most of the Moroccan cities, but picturesquely situated on the seashore. Being away from the frequented routes, few Europeans are seen within its ancient Portuguese walls. We were the objects of much curiosity on the part of the Jewish and Musulman population. I here managed, but not without some difficulty, seated on a mule as I was, to take two photographs.

On<sup>d</sup> November 17 we traversed a very hilly country, and then descended towards the seashore in order to find an easier track for our beasts of burden. The deserted beach, along which we made our way, was narrow and bordered by high cliffs. We followed it, starting from a solitary

\* I learnt later that these fears were exaggerated, and that it was from excess of prudence that I was absolutely prevented from going to Fez.

"marabout,"\* which possesses in the country a great reputation for sanctity. It is the tomb of Sidi bou Mekhaïth.†

After an hour's march we were stopped by the incoming tide, which drove us amongst the rocks that barred our passage. These very picturesque and whitish rocks are called *hajrat beidha* (white stone) or *haffat beidha* (white bank). After waiting till the tide began to ebb, we continued our march along the beach ; then ascending the hills and downs, covered by yellow ranunculi and Spanish iris, we perceived in the distance the town of Larash, which we reached at nightfall, after crossing by boat the Oued el-Kous (Loukkos).

We devoted a part of the following day (November 18) to visiting Larash (El Araish), where several Europeans are established. The town appears to be without any life, and seems dead. I was told that its trade had greatly fallen off. At all events, notwithstanding the remarkable character, from an architectural point of view, of its *suk*, or market-place, which is considered the finest in Morocco, ruins are very numerous, and it was here that we were enabled, for the first time, to verify the truth of a traveller's definition of Morocco—"a country of ruins."

At Larash we saw for the first time one of those bars which obstruct the mouth of Moroccan rivers, and render very difficult communication by boat between the land and vessels anchored off the coast. The neglect of the

\* We shall adopt this classical name, which is in general use in Algeria to designate the tombs of the saints, and which in Morocco is simply called "saints."

† We shall transcribe Arabic names according to their local pronunciation, and after the system of transcription adopted in my Arabic grammar ; the only exception we make is the names of rivers and of well-known places, the orthography of which is in a way settled by the best maps we possess of Morocco (those of the French Etat-Major, of Flotte de Roquevaire, etc.). It must be remembered that the letter "jim" is pronounced like "j" in Morocco, and there is often some confusion between "thâ" and "tâ," etc.

Moroccan Government prevents absolutely anything being done to remedy this state of affairs.

Leaving Larash on November 18, we arrived the evening of the following day at the great salt-pool of Ez-Zerga. On the channel which forms a communication between this vast piece of water and the sea is to be found a celebrated marabout named Sidi bou Selham. On November 20 we quitted the shores of Ez-Zerga, traversed some marshy land, and after passing several cultivated and populated spots we soon reached the little-known and very curious country of Ras ed-Doura.

Ras ed-Doura consists of a series of boggy lakes from 1 to 2 kilometres in width, and extending to a length of 30 to 40. These fresh-water lakes are separated from the sea, which is quite near, by slightly elevated table-lands and downs, which are very prolific in game. Duck, teal, lapwing, etc., are to be seen in thousands. The country, inhabited by a very peaceful population (the reverse of the tribes of the interior, on the other side of the lakes, who are most turbulent), has been little visited by strangers during the past two years, we were told, and no European has been shooting on the lakes; in fact, only a few sportsmen occasionally visit these solitudes.

We breakfasted close to a wretched village of *sherifs*. The pretended descendants of the prophet are numerous in Morocco, and poverty does not spare them any more than it does their fellow-countrymen. Reed huts with pointed tops, people hardly clothed. Near us a woman, still young, of a mulatto complexion, surrounded by several children, and carrying a baby on her shoulders, is preparing to wash linen on the shore. She is half naked, her breasts pendulous, like those of a negress, and is much interested in us. One might imagine one's self on the shores of a Central African lake, among negroes and uncivilized races, so wild indeed is the place, and so primitive the people in their habits.

Not a tree nor a shrub on the horizon. On the water,

employed in fishing, are some frail craft, which hold with difficulty a single person. They are made of bundles of reeds or straw firmly tied and bound together. There is nothing more curious than these boats, so dangerous at the least breath of wind.

All day we travelled along the shores of the lakes, encamping in the evening a few yards away from the water in a pelting rain, which detained us in a damp camping-ground the whole of the next day. Afar we could see a solitary mosque, which we could not approach, but which we examined with our telescopes, bearing the name of Sidi Muḥammad al Mansur. This district is called Menasra.

Here arises an interesting geographical question: Where do the waters of Ras ed-Doura flow to? The maps we have before us (and they are, I must say, the best extant of Morocco) show that they drain into the great river Sebou, which we shall presently pass. The natives whom we interrogated, but who do not venture, it is true, beyond the limits of Ras ed-Doura, gave us nothing but confused information. Captain Larras, a French traveller, whom we shall mention further on, has been over the country situated between the southern extremity of the lakes and the river Sebou, and has not seen any trace of a natural channel or river-bed between these volumes of fresh water and the great Moroccan river. It is possible that the water runs directly into the sea through the subsoil where the downs subside (that is to say, in the south-west), as it happens with several streams which do not run into the sea, and which we have repeatedly proved on the western coast of Morocco.

At 8 a.m. on November 22 we quitted the Menasra district in the midst of a thick mist, which presaged fine weather. For several hours we travelled through a country without interest, but cultivated and very populous. The inhabitants, much puzzled concerning my passage, mistook me for the new French Consul proceeding to Rabat. We passed later some desert ground covered with the tall,

white-flowered broom of Morocco ; and from the summit of a hill we could see below us in the valley the river Sebou, the largest in Morocco. At 4 p.m., in marvellous weather (temperature 66° F.), we arrived at the mouth of the Sebou, with its blue and calm waters, which is about the width of the Rhone at Lyons.

We crossed over the river in a boat, and entered the old town of Mehediah, which rises in the shape of an amphitheatre on the left bank of the Sebou.

Mehediah is a decayed town ; its Portuguese ramparts are in ruins. It could contain 10,000 inhabitants, but there are only between five and six hundred Jews and Muslims (no Christians) dwelling in houses falling to pieces, or in rude huts constructed of branches of trees.

We pitched our tents in the lower part of the ramparts, as far as possible from the hovels full of vermin, which serve as dwellings for the inhabitants. The Kaïd of Mehediah, who welcomed us in a very amiable manner, was uneasy about our having pitched our tents so far from his habitation. "You are," he said, "in a country of robbers ; civilization ends here ; beyond the walls of my town lies barbarism." Full of apprehension regarding us, and fearing that thieves would plunder us by way of the holes in the walls, he himself posted around our tents eight men armed with flint and percussion muskets, and took great care to make sure that they all possessed some gunpowder. We passed a quiet night, the robbers not making their appearance.

On November 23 we traversed the uninteresting route which separates Mehediah from Rabat, and which passes between the great forest of Mamura and the sea. This is the place where a very turbulent and rebellious tribe, called the Zemmour, resides, and who five years ago stopped and looted, on the very road we came, the Sultan's army. At present the country is quiet, and we journeyed without any difficulty.

At 4 p.m. we arrived opposite Salé (Sla), on the banks

of the river Oued bou Regreg, beyond which is Rabat. Salé is a very fanatical town, usually forbidden to Europeans. We entered, however, and through a mistake of our guide, who wanted simply to let us make the tour of the walls, in order to lead us to the bank of the Oued, he plunged us into a labyrinth of streets and lanes, which eventually led us out into the middle of the *suk* on a market-day. We continued another half-hour in going round this great, ill-favoured, and filthy town, passing and repassing before the principal mosques. We were somewhat insulted, but not assaulted.

Emerging from the walls of Salé, we crossed the river in a boat, and went to encamp at Rabat, at the end of a cemetery in the old fortified place, mounted with Portuguese and Spanish guns, and which divides the town from the sea.

We stayed three days at Rabat, which is a large Musulman town and considered fanatical. The presence, however, of a small European colony and a French military mission has familiarized the people with Christians. This is one of the most interesting of Moroccan towns owing to the activity which exists therein, and its many fine ruins of ancient monuments, but above all its strictly Musulman-Arabic character. In this town, with a population of 25,000, together with Tetuan, Mequinez, and Fez, the Moorish-Andalusian element has been best preserved. Elsewhere in Morocco the Berber race dominates, but here, on the contrary, the blood of pure Arab origin has been conserved.

The two palaces which the Sultan possesses at Rabat make it almost a second capital. The carpet industry here is flourishing. A small harbour was constructed a few years ago at the mouth of the Oued bou Regreg, but the bar which exists renders it almost useless.

In the vicinity are to be found the ruins of the great mosque and of the tower of Hassan. This fine minaret belongs to the same period (twelfth century) and school, and probably is by the same architect as the beautiful

campanile, called Giralda, at Seville, and the famous minaret of Kūtūbiat at Marakesh.

Further away are the immense and interesting ruins of Shellah, the ancient capital of the Merinides Sultans, where their tombs also exist, but which are stupidly closed and walled in to prevent any Christian travellers visiting this city of dust and the dead, from profaning them by deciphering their inscriptions.

The sojourn I made at Rabat proved particularly profitable to me, as I succeeded in obtaining important information in reference to religious fraternities. I recommend archæologists to visit Rabat, and hope they will find the monuments easier of access and not so fanatically closed as I did.

During the afternoon of November 26 we left Rabat. The country we traversed was without any interest. If it had not been for the bad news of a reported agitation in the neighbouring districts, we should have gone on without caring about the route. We crossed over the Oued Ykkem, whose current is arrested about a hundred yards from the sea. Further on we went through fields of iris and narcissi in flower, and arrived in the evening at the fortified caravanserai of Kasbah Serirat.

The road we followed was never far from the sea, and in independent territories, inhabited by the formidable Zair tribe. The Government has established a series of little forts, where travellers and troops can take refuge during the night. The precaution is useful, but we failed to take advantage of it, at our expense.

These kasbahs being extremely dirty, my men had pitched my camp on the outside, but at the foot of the walls and near the door of the fort. The Kaid of Kasbah Serirat was not satisfied at this decision, but after having read the circular letter which the Moroccan Minister, Tores, had given me on my leaving Tangier, he resumed his usual placid and amiable air, and sent for the night a guard of fifteen men, very well armed. This guard proved

not too large. At 11 p.m. some Zair brigands, armed with Winchester carbines, came and prowled around our camp. The Kaid's soldiers saw them and fired at them, as they thrice attempted to carry off our horses. The robbers, who were not in any number, ended by retiring, after causing us to pass a very disturbed night. After that we shall pitch our tents in the mud and dirt. If the Zair had been in any force we should have run great risks.

We left early on November 27, and made a forced march, for fear of being late in traversing at ease the Oued Neffikh.

*En route* we came across a large herd of pigs, tended by Musulmans, which surprised me. But Europeans, more especially Spaniards, being very numerous in the coast towns, consume much of this flesh. Moroccans are also to be found occupied in breeding such a prohibited animal, but which brings in a considerable profit. After passing, in good time, the Oued Neffikh, we reached in the evening Fedhala, an old fortified town, which is nothing but a heap of ruins. It was in the midst of fallen walls, full of gaps, that we pitched our tents, amongst the dust and mire.

During the night it came on to rain, and I had an attack of dysentery, and, having been the day before in the saddle from 8 a.m. to 2 p.m., was besides very tired.

In the morning, as we were within a short distance of Casablanca, where friends were expecting us, relatives of Mr. Soudan, my fellow-traveller, we started in spite of the rain and the condition I was in. This imprudent step cost me dear. On the way, and in incessant rain, I felt ill, and became so weak that I had to be laid on a mattress and placed on a mule. The natives in my employ, under the circumstances, showed me great attention. Europeans could not have acted better. We reached Casablanca at last, where, after a few days' rest and the warm-hearted attentions I received from the B—— family, I was saved from what might have turned out worse, if I had happened to have been a few days' march from any medical assist-



ance. At Casablanca terminated the first part of what I may call the first great stage of my journey.

The second stage was from Casablanca to Marakesh. We left Casablanca (Dār Beidhā) on December 6 in order to reach Azemmur the next day. We noticed along the road, which is not far from the sea, a large forest of mastic-trees, full of wild-boars.

In approaching the holy city of Azemmur, in which no European resides, we noticed a great number of tombs of the "saints," and of *karkor*, heaps of stones piled up by travellers, and which have a religious signification. *Karkor* indicates a spot from which a "saint" is visible. The existence of these monuments did not surprise us. It is at Azemmur where the sanctuary of Mouley Bouchaib, the most revered saint in Morocco, is to be found. We arrived at last at the river Oum er Rebia, which we crossed in a boat and entered Azemmur.

The Kaid of Azemmur did not wish us to lodge in a tent, and he put at our disposal a dilapidated house, which must have been a fine one at one time, and wished to receive us at his own house. To my great astonishment, he commenced to speak of the political state of Morocco, and he drew a very gloomy picture of its administration and government and the condition of the people. This was the first time I ever heard a high Moroccan functionary broach his opinion before a European regarding the affairs of his country.

On December 9, in the afternoon, we left Azemmur, and a few hours later reached Mazagan, an important commercial town, where there is a small European colony, and where I was welcomed in the most cordial manner by the French and Italian consular agents.

On December 10 we left Mazagan for Marakesh by the usual route, which leads from the coast to the capital. This road being so well known and described, I briefly refer to it.

The next day we arrived at the great market-place of

Southern Morocco, Suk et-tlata (Tuesday market), Tuesday being the day when several thousand persons meet there. The topic of conversation among this noisy crowd was about the approaching intervention of Europe in the affairs of Morocco, and the question of the establishment of a mixed tribunal and of European control over the Kaid.

Late the next evening we encamped at Smira. During the day we traversed the ridge of the Green Mountain (Jabal Akhdar), which is of medium height, in an extremely savage country, the inhabitants having the reputation of plundering travellers. In these mountains are the ruins of Guerando, situated on a massive and isolated rock.

The ruins present an interesting historical problem, which has not yet been solved. The name Guerando, which is also given to the river which flows beneath, is Portuguese, who are the only Europeans who have been able to establish in Morocco a durable and staple business, and who have really penetrated occasionally as far as from 150 to 200 miles into the interior. But the ruins one sees at Guerando are not Portuguese; in my opinion they are Berber ruins. There are, it is true, some galleries dug in the rock, on the plateau which crowns the rock, where buildings are to be found. The galleries appear to have been made with the intention of excavating stone for building purposes; many of these stones lie cut amidst the ruins. But there is nothing to prove in a definite way the sojourn here of the Portuguese; it is only Portuguese in name.

The Kaid of Mazagan, with whom I conversed about these ruins, affirmed that they were considered as Yūnān (يونان), but he could not tell who these Yūnān were. Etymologically speaking, he could only point to the Greeks. Now, the Greeks have certainly never come to those parts. It is also highly improbable that even the Carthaginians had penetrated there.

On December 13 we left Smira, and in the evening reached Souinia, at the foot of Jabilat, a chain of mountains

about 900 metres high, beyond which is the plain where Marakesh is situated.

The road we travelled that day took us over the vast desert plateau of Gentour (of 400 metres altitude). The weather was magnificent. Since leaving Mazagan we recorded a maximum temperature in the shade of  $71^{\circ}$  to  $77^{\circ}$  F. The Great Atlas range appeared before us in all its splendour, and is more imposing than the Alps; it is at this time of the year entirely covered with snow.

On the morrow we traversed the long ridge of the Jabilat by a series of necks, the altitude of the highest being about 500 metres. Above the last neck we could see the town of Marakesh in the distance. Descending to the plain, we entered, after an hour's march, a great forest of date-palms (bearing a small round kind of date), intermixed nearer the town with vineyards, olive groves, and other cultivation, the whole constituting a great oasis, in the centre of which lies the southern capital of Morocco.

Arriving too late to take lodgings in the town, we encamped outside the gate called Bāb Khmis. Our tents were no sooner pitched than we were visited by two Moroccans, one a rich merchant, and the other an official agent of the French Government; both of them were very kind to us during our stay here.

The next morning, December 15, we took up our quarters in the house which our Moroccan friends had hired for us in the Muhammadan quarter. During our few days' sojourn in Marakesh the officers of the French military mission, who were employed in instructing the Moroccan artillery, showed us the greatest amiability and kindness imaginable, and, I may say, rendered me great services.

I shall not speak of my stay in Marakesh, which would be out of place, as this wonderful town has often been described and written about elsewhere. All I shall say is that I took numerous notes, which I intend to publish in a special work I am now preparing on the religious

fraternities, for which I have collected important material, on Islam and its religious propaganda. Marakesh is a centre of extraordinary interest to the observer versed in Islamic studies. I nevertheless desire to state in a few words the deep impression this great city, full of ruins, made on me.

Marakesh, or Morocco, is estimated, according to Muhammadans, to contain 80,000 inhabitants, but they do not probably amount to more than between 50,000 and 60,000. It has the characteristics of a Sudanese town.\*

Its low houses and earthen wall, its population, in part negro or mulatto, puts us in mind somewhat of Timbuctoo, with its narrow streets full of dust, more especially the merchants' quarter, and the *suks*, protected from the burning sun by roofs made of branches, where intense activity prevails. There is the sensation of being on an ant-hill. This ant-hill (the most interesting of all objects to me in Marakesh) is inhabited by Berbers, blacks from all parts, half-breds of all sorts, and, lastly, by a small group of Moorish Andalusians (not to mention the Jews who are very numerous); there is but little Arab blood among the population. One can therefore easily study the manner in which the Islamic religion has reached the non-Arab races, and has assimilated itself with them. It is that, according to my idea, which makes the capital, where the Sultan of Morocco actually resides, of great interest.

During my stay here, I became acquainted with a personage whose religious authority is very great in the South of Morocco, and whose kindness touched me much. I refer to the Sherif of Tamesloht.† The conversation I had with him in his residence at Tamesloht, where I was on a visit, deserves to be mentioned.

\* The climate of the plain of Marakesh resembles in many respects that of the Sahara. In the winter the nights are cold (it freezes occasionally), and the days very warm (77° F. in the shade), and in the summer-time torrid heat.

† Tamesloht is situated about 21 kilometres south-west of Marakesh.

The room in which we took our meals, in company with several Moroccans, was adorned with a quantity of Lyons tapestry, the origin of which I was informed. This brought round the conversation to Europe, and in consequence, or by contrast, if you wish, upon Morocco and the political aspect. The Sherif gave me a very gloomy account of the state in which his Musulman country found itself. He spoke to me of administrative abuses, and of the many evils resulting from them, affecting the population, and he entered frankly, without any suggestion from me, into the question of European intervention, which, according to him, was quite indispensable, and, turning sharply towards me, he said: "Why don't you come, you others, to Morocco?" The Sherif, who was a British protégé, knew I was travelling with a recommendation from the French Government. This incident, of which I would not exaggerate the importance, is characteristic. It is a very plain expression of the political opinion of a very great number of Moroccans belonging to all classes and social categories (functionaries, chiefs of religion, merchants, and simple fellahs). The notes of my journey are full of evidence of this kind, which I obtained orally.

On December 23 I quitted Marakesh to go to Mogador.

Two roads\* lead from the capital to Mogador. The shortest and most frequented was that chosen by the German Embassy, who happened to be in Marakesh at the same time as myself, and passes by Shishaoua, Ank el Jemel, etc. The other, four hours farther than the former, passes by Ouled el Ancia, Frouga, Ras el 'Ain Shishaoua, etc., and joins the first road near Mogador. This second route is to the south of the first.

Being desirous of going by a new road and one not so trodden as the preceding ones, I determined to return to the coast by the lesser chain of the Great Atlas, and to follow as near as possible the base of this lofty range of

\* When I speak of roads, it must be understood that they are often only tracks or merely landmarks.

mountains. Proceeding by this road, so little known and partly unexplored, permitted me to enter into relations with the semi-independent Berber population of this magnificent and interesting district. I did not whisper a word of my intentions at Marakesh, where everybody told me that the Atlas country was dangerous; my Moroccan friends had, moreover, expressly advised me not to go there, assuring me that they themselves would never venture there. But I left, notwithstanding, accompanied by Captain Larras, of the French military mission at Marakesh, who expressed a wish to accompany me. To the nine persons and eleven animals which formed my little caravan were added nine other persons and five animals belonging to the Captain. We were in all three Europeans and fifteen natives. As we were about to travel in an unknown country, without guides and away from the ordinary roads, we had to use the compass and consult the maps we possessed, in order to get on. Captain Larras attended specially to topography, and took the lead of our double convoy. During the whole journey he kept topographical notes of our route.

We left Marakesh on December 23 at 10 a.m., accompanied a few miles out by the officers of the French military mission. This third portion of our journey, which led us to Mogador, was, as we have said, of quite a special interest in a geographical sense; of this we shall give some circumstantial details. We took latitudes everywhere; Captain Larras (having the necessary instruments) noting the bearings and calculating them. Those given, which sensibly differ from those shown on the maps, were fixed by the Captain: *cuique suum*. In general, maps of South Morocco and the Atlas district, partly made from incomplete accounts or uncertain itineraries, are faulty. The southern range of the Great Atlas should be placed from twenty to thirty miles more to the north.

After leaving the French officers, we made a forced march through Tamesloht, and arrived in the evening at the small village of Agadir esh-shams (Fort of the Sun);

Agadir is a Berber word which we shall often come across hereafter. We now heard nothing but Berber spoken ; two of our men, who spoke it, acted as interpreters.

Agadir esh-shams (lat.  $31^{\circ} 28' 7''$ —Paris), on the bank of the Oued Nfis, is about 700 metres above the level of the sea, Marakesh, our starting-point, being 494 metres.

The next day, December 24, we left at 7 a.m. in a piercing cold (two degrees of frost). After crossing the Oued Nfis, we entered a very broken country, and, continually ascending, arrived at mid-day at Amizmiz (lat.  $31^{\circ} 15' 15''$ —Paris), 1,050 metres above the sea. We are on the lesser chain of the Atlas. Behind the populous little town of Amizmiz are high mountains. At this height olive-trees abound ; but higher up they disappear and give place to Alpine pastures.

No sooner had we arrived at Amizmiz (the mere mention of this name used to make our Moroccan friends at the capital tremble) than the Kaid sent us a present of loaves of bread, sugar, tea, and honey (I may mention that this was the month of fast—Ramadhan). When night came on, he sent us a sumptuous repast prepared in the style of the country. It was very warm during the day, and the flies, bees, and wasps, which invaded our tent, troubled us a great deal ; during the night, on the contrary, we were half frozen. The inhabitants, who seldom saw any Europeans, crowded about us in clusters and followed us along throughout the town and environs. In other respects we were received very friendly.

As it was Christmas Eve, our cook had, at our orders, prepared for us a luxurious meal. Our best preserves took the place of fresh, and we washed them down with a perfumed and very heady wine, made by the Jews of the country. On the mountain in the vicinity, according to the inhabitants, the lion and panther are to be found.

At 7 a.m. on December 25 we left Amizmiz, and proceeded along the foot of the lesser chain of the Atlas at an altitude of about 1,000 metres. The fortified Berber

villages are all situated in places difficult of access. Below, in the far distance on the plain, we could not make out a single habitation, as in these parts there is no security except on the heights, amongst the rocks. The natives, however, regarded us without showing any hostility; many of them in passing, saluted us in Arabic or Berber. We passed many large forests of olive-trees, and noticed also almond and orange trees in bloom.

We intended to sleep at night at the Kasbah Mzouda, which is shown on the map as having an altitude of 721 metres. We had great difficulty in finding this little fortress, but managed to descry it with our telescopes. It, however, turned out to be in ruins and abandoned, and we were therefore compelled to seek some other shelter. Passers-by were rare, and we could get no information. At last we found out that the Kasbah Mzouda had been removed, and we ended by finding it. The new structure is at an altitude of 940 metres, and upwards of an hour's ride from the former kasbah; but we did not enter the place, as the inhabitants did not seem to show any good feeling. Our men, however, evinced some uneasiness. We told them that the next morning we should go on to Imintanout, in the Atlas. This intention troubled them, as at Marakesh they were told that it was a savage country, into which one could not venture with impunity. This did not hinder us from starting the next day.

Striking tents early, we proceeded along the slope of the mountain. We tried to avoid descending, being informed that Imintanout was at an altitude of 1,000 metres. The men—both those of the Captain and my own—had made up their minds not to go to the cursed place; where they imagined they were sure to be killed. They still attempted to make us follow the paths which led to the right, towards the tableland and the plain, whilst our road was to the left. At last, despairing of not having their own way, they continued descending, under the pretext of reaching a market-place and purchasing some provisions. Profit-



ing by our absence (the Captain and myself having gone some distance ahead for the purpose of showing them the way), they left us. My friend, Mr. Soudan, overtook them in order to look after the loads. As for the Captain and myself, we decided to go on alone to Imintanout. Shortly afterwards the Moroccan gendarme in my employ joined me, thus making three of us in all, alone on the mountain-side on our way to Imintanout, near where, five hours later, our men, full of remorse and driven by my friend, Mr. Soudan, caught us up. We reached Imintanout without having run into any danger.

Imintanout,\* which few European explorers have visited, is a small agglomeration of fortified Berber villages, admirably situated at the entrance to the wild and denuded passes of the Great Atlas. The Pass of Imintanout is a narrow passage leading to the main range of the Atlas, over the neck of Bibaouan (the Doors), by which in a few hours the celebrated town of Taroudant, in Sus, is reached. One can go in two days from Imintanout to Taroudant, and the inhabitants of Imintanout, who received us very well, were convinced that we were going there. It would, perhaps, have been possible to have done so in safety, but that was not part of our plans. We then understood why our men feared coming to Imintanout; they believed that we wished to take them on into the dreaded country of Sus, where the risks of being taken prisoners and kept in slavery are great. Indeed, I have known Europeans who, having been wrecked on the coast of Sus, were taken prisoners, and only escaped a more dreadful fate through an exceptional circumstance—that of the presence of the Sultan's army in the vicinity; these were the members of the German commercial expedition of "Gottrop" (1886).

On December 27 we left Imintanout, having the day previously witnessed a very fine halo. We at first continued on, about midway up the side of the mountain;

\* Latitude:  $31^{\circ} 12' 20''$ —Paris.

afterwards we became entangled in some dangerous and impassable tracks on the plateau of Mtouga, amongst ravines, gorges and rough ground, without any sign of vegetation, which formed altogether a veritable desert of rocks and stones. We passed over in this almost uninhabited spot (not having seen more than two wretched villages), a neck of about 1,200 metres altitude. We arrived at 2 p.m. at Tiggi (lat.  $31^{\circ} 17' 50''$ —Paris), or Kasbah Mtouga, a large village with two kasbahs, having the appearance of fortresses, a stream of water (the Kseb), and a few gardens containing fruit-trees, which formed in this rocky and stony solitude a real oasis.

The Kaid of Tiggi is a rich and important personage. His numerous slaves evinced much curiosity regarding our persons and tents. It appears that it is eight years since any European explorer had been here. The Kaid overwhelmed us with kindness and gave us provisions.

The Kaid's slaves questioned my men, asking why they, being Musulmans, serve Christians. One of them replied, "We serve them because they are just, fulfil what they promise, and pay what they owe." They merely expressed an opinion, which is very prevalent in the interior of Morocco, but not on the coast, where Europeans often set a bad example.

We could not but notice that we were in a little-known country, as our maps proved full of errors as to this district. The next day we had an example of this, to our cost.

On December 28, on leaving Tiggi very early, we appointed a rendezvous with our caravan (from which we wished to separate in order to explore the country) at a place marked on our maps Kasbah Bouriki. When, after mid-day, we arrived at the spot where we ought to have found it, we discovered that there was no kasbah there, and that the village in front of us bore quite a different name, and Bouriki denoted neither a kasbah nor a village,

but simply a district. Our caravan naturally also failed to find it, and it was not until after many hours' search that we came across our men about to pitch our tents at Mouley Lhasen.

The road we had been following from Tiggi as far as this was rather interesting; we had marched along the stream Oued Kseb, on whose banks grew the olive, palm, reed (*kseb*), rose-laurel, etc., and on the table-lands, amongst which flowed the Oued Kseb, also argans. The argan, or arganier, is a tree peculiar to the south of Morocco. It is a species of wild olive. The leaves are evergreen and very small; it is provided with long thorns, and bears a fruit resembling both the olive and the acorn. From the stone of the fruit is extracted an oil of a very disagreeable taste, to us, but which is much liked by the Moroccans. The tree, when large, has the appearance and shape of the oak. Being found all over the south of Morocco, it constitutes one of its principal sources of wealth.

On December 29 we set out from Mouley Lhasen towards the south in order to go through the celebrated defile of Imintakandout, which allows one to pass the last ranges of the Atlas and to reach Agadir in Sus. This defile, which is very picturesque, has some caves, which show traces of troglodyte dwelling-places.

On emerging from the defiles of Imintanout, we arrived at the village of Dar Ouled Emflous. The Kaid, who dwelt in a tent (his kasbah having been recently demolished during a local rising), inquired a long while about us and our journey, and as the country was rather unsafe, having been in revolt six months before, he caused three of his soldiers to accompany us as far as Mogador; two of these were Berber foot-soldiers, and the other a horse-man of Sus. We took two days to cross the mountains, which were very thickly wooded with arganiers and very wild; these mountains separate Dar Ouled Emflous from Mogador, at which place we arrived in the evening of December 30.

From Mogador, where we rested a couple of days to celebrate the New Year and the New Century, we directed our steps towards Safi, which we reached rather late on January 3, 1901. The road by which we had come in the interior, as well as along the coast, presented many interesting points.

On January 2 we passed close to the Jebel Hadid (Mountain of Iron). The defective needles of our compasses bore witness to the presence in these rocks of an important bed of magnetic iron.

On January 3 we passed, at two kilometres distance from its mouth, the Oued Tensift, at a spot where very picturesque and extremely fine ruins of the kasbah of Reis Hamido are to be found. These ruins, according to what we were told, date from the time of the Black Sultan in the fourteenth century. On the same day we also passed the Jorf Jehudi (the Jew's Cliff). It is a hollowed-out footpath in the rock, both bad and dangerous, which ascends and descends on the side of the cliff 60 to 80 metres high. It took us nearly half an hour to walk along this very dangerous path, from which there was a superb view of the sea at sunset.

From Safi we went, always hugging the shore, to Oualidya, where we arrived on January 5, after having ridden on horseback 7 kilometres across flat and slippery rocks, full of holes, very dangerous to horses and horsemen. To this natural causeway the Arabic name of "pavement" is given. Two days later we arrived at Mazagan, after having visited the Berber ruins of Tit.

On January 9 we started on our way back to Casablanca, after having been detained four days by incessant and torrential rains.

I shall not dwell upon the sequel, nor the close, of my journey. The rain, which did not cease to fall in South and West Morocco during January and February, detained me at Casablanca and Tangier. I had proposed to go to Fez, but the bad weather compelled me to postpone my

visit to that town to another occasion. I profited during my enforced detainment by getting together fresh information regarding religious fraternities, the worship of saints, and Islam in general, from religious, political and social points of view.

On March 8 I quitted Morocco definitely, and devoted the rest of the month to seeing the principal religious centres of Algeria and Tunis, more especially Tlemcen, the ancient capital of Moroccan civilization, and Kairowan, the holy city. I returned to Geneva in the beginning of April to take up again my classes and duties at the University. I will conclude briefly, by giving a few observations and views.

Morocco has left on me an impression of deep sadness. A very rich country, from an agricultural and mining point of view,\* and in consequence very much coveted. It is none the less a very unfortunate country, on account of unqualified administrative abuses, and of the semi-barbarous form of government to which the people are subjected. We have been witnesses of the misery of a population generally peaceful and sympathetic, and this lamentable state of affairs makes us wish to see the country as soon as possible under a European protectorate. The very worst European administration—the Turkish even—would be preferable to that existing in Morocco. No regular taxes, in consequence of the absence of real administration; denial of justice; violence; cruelty; arbitrary imprisonment,† as well as legal poisoning and assassination; terror; fear of the authorities, which paralyzes the poor; fields left uncultivated in order not to tempt the covetousness of the Kaids; insecurity of the roads, etc.—such is the tableau which the country now presents.

It is not surprising after that, if in Morocco itself one hears the people of the country sighing for foreign intervention. This intervention is necessary and urgent, and

\* Not a mine is worked.

† And what prisons! Go and see what happens in those of Mogador.

everything that contributes to maintain the *statu quo* is vexatious.

Unfortunately, the jealousy of the great European Powers, who have interests in the country, hinders the solution of the Moroccan problem, and is detrimental to the Moroccans themselves. If this question could only be settled in the same way as several others of the same kind, but of lesser importance have been, by a compromise, in order that Morocco may not be wholly or partially abandoned by a scheme of compensation to some European Power!

If there is a country to which the destinies of Morocco may be confided, it is France. The proximity of Algeria, the remarkable transformation through which that country has passed under the rule and genius of France—in short, the very close relationship, from an ethnographical, linguistic, and religious point of view, between Western Algeria (Province d'Oran) and Morocco—are so many weighty reasons in favour of these views.\*

In any case, whichever be the nation on which devolves the salvation of Morocco, it is to be hoped, in the interests of civilization, that it will take place as soon as possible.

\* This opinion has already been expressed in this Review by an eminent authority on the subject (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, January, 1900).

## EXPLORATIONS AT SUSA.

BY W. ST. CHAD BOSCAWEN.

THE discovery and decipherment of the ancient records of Chaldea have not only restored to us the earliest chapters of the history of the ancient inhabitants of the delta of the Tigris and Euphrates, but they have also revealed the fact that the adjacent lands were inhabited by civilized communities, contemporary with the earliest dynasties of Chaldea. Among the nations who figure prominently in these early records, the most important is the kingdom of Elam, a State which was in contact, both offensive and defensive, with the oldest civic States of Babylonia. On a set of curious archaic clay stele in the British Museum,\* which date probably about B.C. 4500, the viceroy of the city of Sirpurra or Lagash, the modern Tel-lo, claims as his most important deeds that he placed the yoke upon Numki or Elam, Gisgal and Ukhu (Jokha) and Makat. From this period until the capture of Babylon, Elam figures prominently in the records of Chaldea. It must be remembered that Cyrus, the conqueror of Babylon, was, prior to the fall of Ecbatana in B.C. 549, the ruler of the small State of Anzan, an Elamite province.

These evidences of the antiquity of the ancient kingdom on the east of the Tigris, the capital of which was the city of Susa, lead archæologists to look anxiously for the time when explorations should be undertaken upon the great mounds which mark the ruins of the Elamo-Persian city. The site of Susa is situated in the fertile plain about twenty-five miles from the foot of the hills, and in the region watered by the upper streams of the Kerkhah or Uknu, the Dizful or Ididi, and the Upper Karun, the Ulai of the inscriptions, the Eulæos of the classics and Daniel (viii. 2-6). This plain, which stretched to the Tigris, where it is fringed with marshes, is, like that of Chaldea, of alluvial origin and immensely fertile. It was this fertile character, and its

\* Babylonian Room, No. 4, 7, Case 2 ; B.M. No. 85, 977-980.

suitability for corn-growing, we shall see, which led to the foundation of the primitive settlement which afterwards became the site of the city of Susa.

The ruins of the city consist of two great tumuli; the larger of the tumuli is about 1,500 metres in length and about 800 in its greatest width. The larger mound early attracted the attention of archæologists, and in 1851 Mr. Kennett Loftus made some excavations upon the site, and obtained inscriptions of the Achæmenian Kings. The mound was, however, thoroughly explored in 1884-86 by M. Marcel Dieulafoy and his wife, who obtained from it the magnificent collection of Persian sculptures which are exhibited in the Susanian Saloons of the Louvre. It was then shown that the larger mound marked the site of the Apadanas of Darius and Artaxerxes Mnemon, but no trace of any older remains were discovered.

Loftus had obtained from his excavations several bricks, bearing inscriptions of Elamite Kings, who were contemporary with the Sargonide dynasty of Assyria (B.C. 721-625). The mention of the palaces of the Elamite Kings in the inscriptions of Babylonia and Assyria show that royal residences had existed, but it was concluded that these had been destroyed in the terrible vengeance wrought by Assurbani-pal upon the city in B.C. 640, when, as he tells us, "he threw down, dug up, and destroyed with fire," the palaces, and desecrated the graves of the Elamite Kings. If any remains of the older city existed, they must be found in the smaller tumulus, which hitherto had not been explored. This mound is manifestly older than the Achæmenian Acropolis, and it was the site selected by M. de Morgan for his work during the years 1898-1900. The mound rises to a height of nearly 100 metres above the plain, and is about 400 metres in length. M. de Morgan, who during his directorship of the Gizeh Museum had conducted such very successful explorations at Nagada and Dashur, commenced his work in 1897 upon thoroughly scientific lines. The great explorations of recent years at Troy, Mykenæ, and Lacish (*Tel Hesi*) have shown that in these



graves of ancient centres of civilization the law of stratification rules as in world ruins of the geologist, and to ascertain the various strata of which the mound is composed is the first task before any detailed researches can be made. To this end M. de Morgan proceeded to drive a series of tunnels into the mound at varying heights above the plain. The following table will best explain the result of these test works :

TABLE SHOWING STRATA OF DEPOSITS.

|                | ABOVE<br>BASE. | BELOW<br>SURFACE. | NATURE OF DEPOSIT.  |
|----------------|----------------|-------------------|---|
|                | <i>Metres.</i> | <i>Metres.</i>    |   |
| Tunnel A - -   | ...            | ...               | Level of plain ; alluvial deposits of yellow soil and gravel.   |
| Tunnel B - -   | 10'93          | 24'90             | Hand-made pottery, black and red decoration resembling pre-historic ware of Egypt ; worked flints.  |
| Tunnel C - -   | 14'30          | 20'70             | Pottery of coarse type ; hand-made worked flints ; teeth of sickles similar to those found at Kahun in Egypt.   |
| Tunnel D - -   | 18'20          | 16'80             | Thick bed of cinders and carbon ash ; worked flints, pottery, and bones all showing traces of fire ; large vases with painted and linear decoration, both hand and wheel made ; sickles in enormous quantities, teeth show bitumen, and some reset ; stone mace-heads, similar to those found in Chaldea, but not sculptured. |
| " " - -        | 21'0           | 12'95             | Flint sickles, mace-heads, and kiln-burnt bricks.   |
| Tunnel E - -   | 25'07          | 8'90              | Brickwork walls ; wells with terra-cotta drain-pipes. No writing on bricks.*  |
| Trench No. 7 - | 29'97          | 4'0               | Remains of buildings ; inscribed bricks of Elamite Kings ; Anzanian city destroyed in B.C. 640 ; numerous inscribed bricks, cones, and sculptures of early Elamite and Babylonian rulers.   |
| " " -          | 32'0           | 2'0               | Greco-Persian remains of the Arsacides.   |
|                |                | Surface.          | Arab and Persian pottery and coins.   |

\* This deposit resembles the lowest stratum at Nippur, where similar remains were found at a depth of 19 metres below surface. See Helprech, "Old Babylonian Inscriptions," part ii, p. 23.

Here we have in this series of strata a wonderful panorama of the history of this site, stretching far back into the past, how far it is impossible to say. It is only with stratum E that we may say we reach the historic age, and beyond that we have two older settlements, which have been destroyed. The discovery of the great deposits of flint teeth of sickles in strata C, D, E is most important. Those were found in heaps, the wooden frames in which the teeth had been set having decayed in the long time. The history of the site is clear. First, a camp occupied only during the harvest season, when the rich corn crop on the plain was harvested, later a town or settlement of wooden huts (D), which had been destroyed by fire. This settlement is similar to that found at Tel Hesi, or Lacish, by Dr. Bliss, and was succeeded in turn by a small town of brick-work, which in turn was replaced by a second town (E), similar to the lowest settlement at Nippur. How remote an age this primitive town is to be assigned to we cannot say. There is no trace of writing, and as writing was introduced from Chaldea during the earliest dynasties of Chaldea, the most ancient inscriptions found being written in the Sumerian language and scripts, we may say that this settlement must be prior to the advent of Chaldean influence. Now, the earliest Kings of Chaldea, Manishtu-irba, and the viceroys of Serpurra or Lagash, and the Kings of Kish, were all in contact with Elam, and writing was general and far advanced at that period, B.C. 4500, so this settlement must be long prior to that age. If we say B.C. 5000, what age are we to assign then to the lower strata D, C, B, in each of which there are indications of the settlement of a people possessing some elements of civilization and art? They could make pottery first by hand only, and then by aid of the wheel (D); they could decorate it with figures of birds and geometrical pattern, similar to the prehistoric races of Egypt, and they cultivated corn, and possibly other cereals. The weapons were stone maces, similar to those found in Chaldea, but

not sculptured like those from Nippur and Tel-lo, rather resembling those found by M. de Morgan in the prehistoric graves at Tepeh-Goulam and Poucht-é-Kouh. Similar weapons were found in large numbers at Hieraconpolis in Egypt, and at Hu, etc. The earliest historic example of this primitive weapon is the mace of E-anna-du in the British Museum, and that of Mesilim, the son of Manishtu-irba, in the Constantinople Museum; but the Susa examples are more ancient. We may therefore reasonably assume that in Susa we have one of the oldest cities yet explored in the East, with a series of records extending throughout the historic ages far into the obscure regions of the prehistoric.

To deal now with the historic periods: we have a mass of extremely valuable material, the whole of which was obtained from the layer of the Elamite or Anzanian city; although, as we shall see, many of the records are older than that city, and have in some cases been removed from other sites, and probably from older portions of the city.

Our material may be divided into two classes:

- (1) Inscriptions of native Elamite rulers.
- (2) Inscriptions of Babylonian rulers found in the palace and ruins.

The inscriptions which have been published by Dr. Schiel, in his memoir forming part of M. de Morgan's work, supply us with the names of many rulers. It must be noticed that all these rulers bear the title of "viceroy," or *patesi*, a title which naturally presupposes an overlord. The following list gives most of the names. The question of the linguistic affinities of Elamite names is as yet too involved, so I simply give these names and leave these difficult questions for discussion elsewhere.

#### LIST OF ELAMITE KINGS.

1. Karibu-sa-Susinak—Favourite of Susinak.
2. Idadu—Beloved.
3. Kal Rukhratir—Servant of Rukhratir, son of No. 2.

4. Ardum-Naram-Susinak—Servant beloved of Susinak, son of No. 3.
5. Idadu II., son of Kal Rukhratir.
6. Nin Silkhakha.
7. Kuk-Kirpias, son of No. 6.
8. Temi-Khalki, brother of No. 7.
9. Kuri-Gugu, brother of No. 8.

This list of names is of great value, as it shows the mixed nature of the rulers. Some of them have pure Semitic names, whilst of these Nos. 3, 7, 8, 9 have a distinct affinity to the names of the Kassite Kings of Babylonia.

The earliest inscriptions are those of Karibu-sa-Susinak, and these show at once the Babylonian influence, for one of them is written in a curious mixture of Sumerian, the other in Semitic Babylonian. The first, upon a clay cone similar to those of Chaldea, reads: "Karibu-sa-Susinak viceroy (*patesi*) of Susa, prefect (*nitak*) of the land of Elam, son of —, to Susinak his lord the house of the god Sugu he made."

The second inscription is engraved upon a portion of a statue in linear Babylonian characters. It reads:

I. To the god AL-UR-KA  
Karibu-sa-Susinak  
viceroy (*patesi*) of Susa  
prefect of the land of Elam,  
son of . . . .

II. and a LA (weight) of silver  
and a LA (weight) of copper  
for the head (of the statue?).

. . . . .  
he has raised up.  
The gods Susinak,  
Samas, and Naurute,

III. and the god Nergal,  
"his seed, his life,"  
may they destroy  
and his posterity  
cut off.

The style of this inscription is manifestly based on those of Chaldea, and especially the imprecatory formula at the end; and the model is the early inscriptions of the first Semitic dynasty of Agade, those of Sargon I. and Naram-Sin.

This is important to note. The Susanian text in

column three reads: SE PAL (*zeru pāle*), *li-il-gu-du a-la-ti li-is-kup*—"his race, his life (reign) may they destroy, his offspring cut off." This formula is found in the inscriptions of Sargon I. of Agade. Thus on a door-socket from Nippur, *isid-su lizukhu u zir su li-il-gu-tu*—"his foundation may he erase and destroy his seed." The same formula occurs on the monolith of Naram-Sin in the museum at Constantinople. This formula does not occur in the later periods, and is almost confined to the period of the Sargon dynasty, B.C. 3800-500. This would assist us in fixing with fair approximation the age of these inscriptions, and I think we may do so with certainty. Among the monuments which have been discovered at Susa are some important inscriptions of Naram-Sin. The first is on a large sculptured monolith which has been usurped by the Elamite King Sutruk-nakhunti in the eighth century, and which in the inscription upon it he states he removed from the city of Sipir, an important Elamite town. The other is engraved upon portion of a brick. Both of these monuments prove the presence of the armies of the Babylonian Kings in this region, and the brick of Naram-Sin certainly indicates that he constructed some edifice in the Elamite capital.

The first inscription is very mutilated, but sufficient remains to show that it commemorates a victory over the Lulubini, a people who dwelt in the mountains to the east of Susa, and of whose rulers a sculpture was found by M. de Morgan at Zohab. This inscription adds additional proof to the influence of this first Sargon dynasty to the east of the Tigris, for on the final formula we read the words *abi-su u uza-su li-il-kudu*—"his parents and his offspring may they destroy." The British Museum possesses another monument which may be assigned to this period also. It is a large stone mace-head (N.B.R., Case A, No. 55) on which is an inscription in very archaic characters of Lasirab (?), King of Guti, the tribes of Kurdistan, the Gorim of the fourteenth chapter of Genesis. Here the imprecatory formula reads, "May they destroy him and curse him and

exterminate (*li-il-ku-tu*) his seed." Here, then, we see that these early Semitic Kings left their mark upon the earliest monuments of Elam and the adjacent lands.

Turning now to the contemporary records of Chaldea, we find additional proof. Taking first the omen tablet of Sargon and Naram-Sin, of which we have an Assyrian copy. Here we read: "Sargon at this time marched against the country of Elam and subjugated the men of Elam; misery (?) he brought upon them, their food he cut off." The omen with regard to the Naram-Sin campaign reads: "Naram-Sin at this season marched against the city of Apirak\* and destroyed it; Ris-Rimman,† the King of Apirak, he conquered."

A certain amount of doubt has been cast upon this inscription by critical German Assyriologists, who are endeavouring by every means to prove the unhistorical character of the age of Sargon; but against this we have evidence of a most unbiassed and convincing character.

Among the inscriptions discovered by M. de Sarzec at Serpurra or Tel-lo were several contracts which bear dates according to the Babylonian custom of dating by important events. These are:

- (1) The year when Sargon made an expedition (*khar-ranu*) against Elam and Zakhara opposite Ukh (*Jokaha*).
- (2) In the year when the King made an expedition against Guti.
- (3) In the year when Sargon made the platform of the temple of Anunit and the platform of the temple of AE (AI°) in Babylon, and when Sarlak, King of Gutim, he spoiled.

Now, these dates come from documents of the people, and are not open to the charge of being "priestly fabrica-

\* Apirak is the Khapir, later the Khalpirti, of the Anzan inscriptions, and is probably Mal Amir in the mountains east of Susa. Amir = Apit.

† Ris-Rimman, a "chief is Rimman," a Semitic name in harmony with those of the Semitic rulers of Susa.

tions." Taking all the evidence I have here gathered, it seems clearly proved that about B.C. 3800 Babylonian Kings made extensive campaigns in Elam and in the mountains of Western Persia, conquered and annexed Susa, and placed it under the rule of viceroys (*patesi*) who were subject to them. These viceroys were dependent upon Babylonian scribes for the writing of these royal records, in the same manner that the early Armenian Kings of Van were dependent upon Assyrian scribes to write their records, until the borrowed script was adapted to their Alarodian tongue. This very early Semitic predominance in Elam explains its classification in Genesis x. 22 as the eldest son of Shem, an arrangement rather geographical than ethnological, it being the first Babylonian colony or province and founded by Semitic dynasty.

How long this Babylonian rule over Elam lasted we cannot say. Gudea about B.C. 2800 records his war in Elam (Stat. B, Col. vi., 64-66): "By arms the city of Ansan in the country of Elam he has conquered, its spoils to the god Nin-Sugir in the Temple of Ninnu he has dedicated." During the period of weakness which followed the fall of the third dynasty of Ur, that of Dungi II., Bur-Sin, and others, which we may place approximately from B.C. 2600-2300, the kingdom of Elam had grown in power, and in B.C. 2285 the Elam King Kudur-Nakhunti swept over Chaldea, pillaging the cities and temples and carrying away the treasures to Susa. This captivity lasted until the rise of the great Arabian dynasty of Babylon, of which Khammurabi was the chief monarch. This King records his conquest of "the lord of Elam and Eri-Aku of Larsa." The letters published by Mr. King of this ruler show very extensive military expeditions against Elam.\*

In view of these records, it is important to note the discovery of an inscription of Khammurabi at Susa which indicates his presence there. The inscription is in Sumerian upon a large block of black granite, and resembles in style

\* See my article in *Babylonian Oriental Record*, vol. viii., No. 1.

the inscription upon the lower portion of a statue in the British Museum (King's "Kham," vol. i., No. 60). The text is a pæan of victory, reading, "The great gods proclaimed his name, and his royal weapon struck the enemy with dismay; with his troops the armed foes he smote to the ground in battle. He swept the hostile lands, mighty in battle." In the chronological lists we have two campaigns in Elam recorded in the thirtieth and thirty-first years: (1) "The year in which the army of Elam . . ."; (2) "the year in which the land of Emutbalim (province of Elam) he pillaged."

After the fall of this powerful Babylonian dynasty Elam increased in power, as a new and powerful dynasty of Kassite Kings ascended the throne.

The Kassî, who play so important a part in the middle ages of the Babylonian Empire, may be regarded as a lost race, who have been restored to us by the decipherment of the ancient records. The discovery of numerous royal names, which are distinctly Kassite, at Susa, as well as records of Kassite Kings of Babylon, show that those people had established themselves at Susa certainly about B.C. 2000, or a little later. That they were of mountain origin is indicated by the extensive worship of Nin Kharsag, "the Lady of the Mountain," and of Sumaliya, "the Lady of the Snowy Heights." They have been identified by Sayce, Schrader, Delitzsch, and others, with the Kosseans; by Oppert and Lehmann with the Kissians of Herodotus (Books III. xci., VII. lxii.), whom Strabo states inhabited the district of Susa. Probably we may adopt the suggestion of Kiepert ("Lehrbuch der Alten Geog.," p. 139), that the two tribes are identical. Some vocabularies of Kassite names and words have been found in the library at Nineveh, and are discussed by Delitzsch ("Sprache der Kossoeer") and by Halevy (*Zeit. für Assy.*). From the royal names I have given above, it would seem that the Kassites conquered Susa on their way down to the plains of Babylonia. An interesting evidence of this



is afforded by the architecture of the palace discovered by M. de Morgan at Susa. He says: "In the larger rooms the bases of columns were found, but from the large quantity of ashes found it is evident the columns and roofs had been of wood similar to the Persian *apadanas*." We can now, therefore, trace this interesting form of construction back to a period much earlier than the Persian age. We have the ancient Elamite halls, which reproduce the columned halls of the Kassite building at Nippur,\* about B.C. 1300. The Kassite was first cousin to the Elamite, and we may see in this form of construction a survival in the Yezidi houses described by Sir Henry Layard.

The history of the Kassite dynasties of Babylon is not in direct connection with the subject of this article; I shall therefore pass over the subject, and confine my remarks to two important inscriptions of Kassite Kings which were found in the palace at Susa. These inscriptions are both land grants, inscribed upon the *kudurri*, or "boundary stones." The *kudurru* is a form of monument peculiar to the Kassite age. It is a boulder stone—never a quarried stone—the surface of which is sufficiently dressed to make it smooth, fit to take an inscription, and a plaque containing, as we are told, the figured representations of the gods. The valuable passage in the inscription of Meli-Sikhu explains this: "The great gods, all of whom their names on this stone are recorded, their shrines set up, their weapons shown, and their sculptures carved." This kind of monument is a survival of the days when a common boulder was the landmark, or "stone of witness," set up to mark the possession of land. The two stones, the one with a land grant by Nazi-murutas to the god Merodach, the other of a grant by Meli-Sikhu to Merodachbaladan, probably his son, who succeeded him, although he is here called his "servant," can hardly have been carried away from Babylonia as spoil, but seem to have been stored in the palace and carefully preserved.

\* Peters' "Nippur," vol. ii., p. 175.

The inscription of Meli-Sikhu (Man of Sikhu) gives us one of the most important inscriptions yet recovered from Babylonia, and the light it throws upon the laws and rights of land-owners is so important that I have translated it in full :

INSCRIPTION OF MELI-SIKHU.

Col. I. Land of 84 (gur.), 160 *Ka* seed area, [General specification.]

at 30 *Ka* to the great cubit  
of the town of Tamakku,  
of the province of the city of Agade,  
on the bank (*kisad*) of the royal river (*Nar. sarri*),  
and of the family (*bit*) of Pir-Bel (*Il sadu-rabu*),  
which includes (*ina libbi*) :

- A.  $36^g + (60 + 50) 110^k$  seed area (*se zer*), [Estimate of the various plots.]  
in the neighbourhood of  
the city of Takamakku.
- B.  $14^g + (240 + 30) = 270^k$  seed area,  
extension of the field of  
the house of Iriga,  
the officer (*amil saku*) of the King.
- C.  $26^g + 30^k$  seed area,  
extension of the field of  
the town of Nur-akhe-su,  
and the house of Isba-Rimman  
(*abe. babi*), guardian of the gate  
of the city of Dur-Kurigal-zu.
- D.  $7^g + 50^k$  seed area,  
of the house of Ea-malik the carpenter (*nangar*),  
in the town of Zamar-gamil-babani,  
on the banks of the canal Kharribazi,  
of the house of Pir-Bel.

\* \* \* \* \*

The King Meli-sikhu [Appointment of surveyors.]

Ibni-Marduk,  
son of Arad-Ea,  
Samas nadin-suma,  
son of Arad-nubatti,  
the officer of the King,  
and Samas-nadin-esra,  
son of Ultu-ili,  
the treasurer (*khazan*)  
of Bit Pir-Bel,  
he has commissioned (*ispur*).

they have measured (it) (*imsukh-ma*), and  
upon Marduk-apla-iddina (Merodachbaladan),  
his servant, he conferred it (*irim*).

Of this estate (*eklu*)

[*Statement of boundaries.*]

the upper boundary on the north  
is fixed

by the town of Mar-selibi,  
of the house of Tunalakkit.

The lower boundary on the south  
is fixed by the town of Salkhi,  
of the estate of Istar of Agade.

The upper width towards the west  
is the bank of the Kibāte canal,  
which from the midst

of the canal of the royal province takes its course  
(*sa ultu libbi nar pikhati sa sarri elikka*).

The lower breadth, on the east  
is the bank of the royal canal.

Col. II. This is the estate

[*Record of donation.*]

which the Meli-sikhu,  
the King, on Marduk-apla-iddina,  
his servant, has conferred.

Inalienable (*latabal*) is his estate,  
its right he has  
thus established.

[*Charter of rights and  
privileges.*]

From his estate, reductions (*nisirta*),  
or taxes,  
shall not be placed.

The border ditches (*ika-mizra*),  
or the boundary stones (*kudurra*),  
shall not be removed.

Intrigues (*dibbi*), reclamations,  
or legal disputes (*rugummā*)  
shall not be raised (*la rasie*).

[*No reclamation or legal  
disputes.*]

Corvée-work (*dulli*) or labour (*pitki*)  
on the approach . . .

[*Exemption from corvée.*]

repairing

or strengthening

of the canal of the King . . .

From the town of Bit Sikkamidu,  
and the town of Damik-Rimman,  
by bands (*dikutu*) taken from the cities  
of the province of Istar of Agade,  
his city shall not be gathered, and  
shall not do the work (*la episi*).

The corvée for the lock (*bab*) of the royal canal,  
neither to dam,  
or to close,

or to clean the channel of the canal,  
 No cultivator of the land of his city,  
 or sojourner (*kattini*),  
 or dweller in the city,  
 or man of his council,  
 or official (*kipu*) whatsoever,  
 of the district (house) of Pir-Bel,  
 from his city shall be  
 forced to come forth (*suzimma*).  
 Neither by the order (*paraz*) of the King,  
 or by the order of the governor (*sakin*);  
 or by the order of  
 any one whatsoever (*māma edi*).

From Pir-Bel

[*Protection of property,  
 stock, etc.*]

neither wood or vegetables (*samme*),  
 or straw or corn,  
 or any kind of crop (*mimma, māsita*),  
 or chariots or teams,  
 ass or man,  
 shall not be raised (*la nāsē*).

In time of drought (*dirikti*),

[*Water and irrigation  
 rights.*]

Col. III. the waters of the stream (*musehri*),  
 of the canal, Rati. Anzanim,  
 and the canal of the royal province,  
 and the waters of its canal nourishment (*sikti-su*)  
 (*i.e.*, irrigation),

a reduction shall not be made.

The water shall not be cut off (*asimma*)  
 from the irrigation  
 or increased (doubled)  
 for another district,  
 or soaked up  
 and not watered.

The vegetation of his estate  
 shall not be mown (*bakani = bakami*).

[*Pasture rights.*]

The cattle of the King or the governor,  
 who the province of Bit Pir-Bel  
 shall be appointed,  
 to its neighbourhood  
 shall not be driven (*surudim-ma*),  
 and the herbage not pastured.

A road or a bridge,

[*Public works.*]

neither for the King or for the  
 governor who to the province of Bit Pir-Bel  
 shall be appointed,  
 shall not be constructed;  
 and whatsoever new corvée-work,  
 that in future days

the King or governor, who  
 to the province of Bit Pir-Bel  
 shall be appointed,  
 shall summon  
 and shall execute  
 or neither to a corvée work  
 that has grown old,  
 and fallen into disuse (*ina kati maktuma*)  
 to raise anew,  
 that work  
 they shall not execute.

No to alienate his estate,  
 or the rights of his town, or  
 his district,  
 or whatsoever was given him  
 the King has appointed (this), and  
 in the presence of Samas Marduk  
 and the goddess Anunit,  
 and the great gods  
 of heaven and earth.

Upon a stone (*narûa*) he has written  
 upon this field  
 as an everlasting landmark  
 he has deposited.

Whosoever in future time (*zāti*),  
 in far-distant days (*rakūti*),  
 the great gods  
 shall proclaim his name,  
 and to the pastorate (*riut*) of the land  
 shall elevate him ;

*Col. IV.* Even as (*ki*) I the estate of the King  
 my predecessor (*alîk pani ya*)  
 have not alienated,

[*Act of entail.*]

The rights he had appointed  
 to rent  
 have not changed,  
 or whatsoever upon this stone  
 he had written and left,  
 I had not made of no effect  
 or diminished ;

In like manner, neither by the advice (*pi*) of the  
 chiefs

of my council (*malîki*)  
 or governors  
 of provinces,  
 or intriguers,  
 I have not acted.

This field which to their seed

they bequeathed  
 I have not alienated  
 the rights they appointed,  
 the wills (desires) they wrote  
 and deposited  
 I changed not, and  
 I did not transgress (them).  
 He like unto myself (*su yāsi*)  
 shall not transgress.  
 The estate which to my seed I bequeath (*asruku*),  
 he shall not alienate,  
 the rights I appointed  
 to dues shall not change.  
 According to the word of the chiefs  
 of his counsel,  
 the governors  
 of the district  
 or intriguers,  
 he shall not act, and  
 the desires (*amati*) which  
 upon this stone  
 I have written and deposited  
 he shall not make void  
 by the word of the governor  
 who to the province of Bit Pir-Bel  
 shall be appointed  
 he shall not act.

An equivalent (*kimu*) estate  
 he shall not give it, or  
 the field which I have given  
 to the district he shall not return.

[No substitution of other  
land.]

If he that man  
 loves justice  
 and hateth iniquity,  
 and that this state which to my posterity

[Reward of due observation of  
the bequest.]

I have bequeathed  
 he alienates not,  
 the rights I have appointed  
 to dues he turns not,  
 the bequest (*amat*) which upon

*Col. V.* this stone I have written,  
 and in the presence of Samas and Marduk,  
 and the goddess Anunit,  
 and the great gods  
 of heaven and earth,  
 upon this field  
 I have deposited,  
 he changes not

or disregards,  
 whether by the advice of the great ones  
 of his council,  
 or the governor of the district,  
 or of intriguers he acts not,  
 and another equivalent estate  
 he does not cause to be substituted (*ustannassumma*),  
 and the field I have given  
 restores not to the province ;  
 That same one, the great gods of heaven and earth,  
 favourably shall look upon him, and  
 a life of many days (and)  
 years of abundance, wealth and fertility,  
 throughout (his) life as his portion (*iski-su*) may they establish.  
 But (*summa*) if that man hateth justice  
 and loveth iniquity, [Punishment for  
violation.]  
 the curses which upon this stone  
 I have written,  
 and in the presence of Samas Marduk  
 and Anunit,  
 and the great gods of heaven and earth,  
 upon this estate have deposited,  
 he fears not (*la-iptalākḫ-ma*), and  
 this estate which to my posterity I have bequeathed  
 he alienates,  
 taxes and deductions (*niserṭi*)  
 upon it he places, and  
 the privileges I established to dues he changes,  
 and also an equivalent field he substitutes,  
 and the field I have given, to the province  
 he takes back (*utir*),  
 this stone which I have inscribed,  
 and in the presence of Samas Marduk  
 and Anunit,  
 the great gods of heaven and earth,  
 upon this field  
 for all time (*ana darāti*) I have set up,  
 he shall throw down (*iddikima*),  
 and in another and evil place (*ki*),  
 in a dark place (*la-amari*), into obscurity  
 shall carry away (*ustakhiz*),  
 Also even if (*assum*) these curses, [The employment of a sub-  
stitute no protection.]  
 which upon the stone I have written,  
 he fears, and another man (*amiliṭ akhām*),  
 an enemy, a bastard (*mar māmmaṇama* = son of anyone),  
 an idiot, a deaf or blind man,  
 or an ignoramus (*la-muḍu*), shall urge on (*umta'irma*)  
 and cause him to remove it, and into water or fire

cast it,  
 or bury in the earth,  
 or build up in brickwork,  
 or close up in a wall,  
 or erase it (*uptessis*) or break it,  
 or injure or obliterate,  
 and efface the name which I have written ;

*Col. VI.* That man, should he be a noble (*etillu*),  
 or a chieftain (*rabu*), a counsellor (*malik*) of the King,  
 or a royal officer,  
 or a governor who to the province of Bit Pir-Bel  
 had been appointed,  
 or a treasurer of the district  
 of Bit Pir-Bel,

or an adviser (*femi*) or director (*mūserisu*)  
 of a high official

of the province of Bit Pir-Bel,  
 or an individual of any class whatsoever ;

That man, Anu. Bel

Ea and Nin Kharsag,,

[*The curses and punishments  
 from the gods.*]

the great gods,

the word of whose command

they change not,

with their angry faces

may they look upon him, and

with irremovable evil curses

may they curse him.

Marduk, the great lord,

[*Merodach.*]

the words of whose mouth

no god whatsoever can escape,

the desire of his great sin (*sertu*)

may he disregard :

with angry looks (*naṭal*)

the stretching forth of his hand

is not satisfied,

and in the streets of his city

may he wander.

Sin, the powerful lord,

[*Sin the Moon.*]

the brilliant (*supu*) among the great gods,

with a dropsy whose hold

cannot be removed,

may he place upon him.

May leprosy like a garment

clothe his body.

All the days of his life

may he be excluded from his house ; and

like a wild beast (*umām*) of the field

on the field may he stretch himself down,



and the broad ways (*ribit*) of his city  
may he never tread (*ai-ikbus*).

Adar, the lord of pastures (*abli*),  
crops, and boundary stones

[*Adar.*]

*aplam* and flowing waters (*nak mē*),

may he regard him, and

grain and fruits (*pira*)

may he never possess.

Gula, the lady, the mighty one,

[*Gula.*]

the princess of all ladies,

his seed with a poison not curable (*la ās*)

without issue ; in his body

may she place,

all the days of his life (*adi balṭu*),

blood, and pus like water

may he pour forth.

The great gods, all of whom

[*All the family gods.*]

their names ; on this stone

are recorded,

their shrines set up (*udda*),

their weapons strewn,

and their sculptures carved,

with a curse (*simat*) of blindness (*la-nqṭali*),

a closing of ears (deafness), and stopping of the  
mouth (dumb),

to future days

may they afflict him.

These curses (are), by the decree

of Bel, the great lord,

the command of whose mouth

is never failing,

and his grace everlasting (*kinu*),

not overstrained and unfailing,

may they restrain him.

This inscription is certainly one of the most interesting of the class, and throws great light upon the administration of the law in Babylon about B.C. 1400.

In this article I have confined myself to the historical side of the question of these important discoveries, but at some future time I hope to deal with the numerous archæological problems these explorations have raised. These or the later phases of Elamite history cannot be discussed until we have before us the further memoirs of M. de Morgan and Dr. Schiel.

I cannot close this article without a word of high praise to Dr. Schiel for his editing of these extremely difficult inscriptions, and also to the publishers, Messrs. Leroux et Cie., for the luxurious way in which this work has been published and illustrated.

The extremely fertile nature of the alluvial soil of Babylonia and the Susanian plain naturally led to the early development of the art of agriculture, and it is not, therefore, surprising to find the professions of the gardener and farmer flourishing at the very commencement of the historic age. Among the inscriptions discovered at Susa is one which certainly ranks as the oldest agricultural and commercial record yet discovered. In the ruins of the Anzanian city M. de Morgan discovered a large granite obelisk about 5 feet high, covered on all four sides with writing of the most archaic type. The inscription is arranged in seventy-four columns on the four sides of the monolith, and contains about 2,000 packets or compartments of words.

The inscription is of a very peculiar character. Although it is a royal inscription, having been carved by order of Manishtu-irba, King of Kish, it is not an historical record in the strict sense of the term, nor is it like the Kudurri, a land grant. It consists really of the account of money and objects given in payment by the King for certain estates, together with the payments to tenants and workmen upon the estate. The document is extremely important from a philological point of view, for it is written almost entirely in Semitic Babylonian, and contains many Semitic names, and is therefore the oldest Semitic record known. There are here and there certain archaisms and traces of Sumerian influence that indicate that it belongs to a period when the Semites had not quite adapted the cuneiforms to their language.

Fortunately, we are able to ascertain with a fair degree of certainty the date of this ancient record. The name of the King is Manishtu-irba ("he who has increased the clan or

family"), a name cognate with that of Khammurabi ("the family is widespread"). Among the agents appointed, as in the Meli-Sikhu inscription, to decide the boundaries of certain estates is *Me-salim*, the son of the King. From a remarkable cone in the Louvre, published by M. Thureau-Dangin (*Rev. Assy.*, vol. iv.), we learn that this Prince, who succeeded his father on the throne of Kis, was contemporary with Entemena, King of Lagash, or Sirpurra; for on this cone we read: "Enlil (Bel), lord of the world, father of the gods, his established command Nin-Sagir marked out the boundary-ditch (iḳa) Me-selim, King of Kis, upon the command of his god Kadi, the site of his property (marked), and on that place a stele he set up." So we may therefore consider Manishtu-irba and his son as contemporary with the ancient Chaldean Kings En-anna-du and Entemena. All of these rulers are prior to the age of Sargon of Akkad, B.C. 3800, and on paleographic and other evidence may be placed between B.C. 4500 and B.C. 4000. There is a mace-head of Manishtu-irba in the British Museum (No. 91,018), and one of Me-selim in the museum at Constantinople. The character of the writing on the obelisk certainly belongs to the most archaic type found at Tel-lo and Nippur, and resembles that on the vases of Lugalzaggisi (Hilprecht, *Old Bab. Insc.*, No. 87).

To return to the inscription itself. Its nature is explained by the phrase which occurs at the end of paragraph: *Eḳel* (GAN) *Marada* (ki), *Manishtu-irba*, *Sarru Kis* (ki) *i-sim* ("land of the city of Marad which Manishtu-irba, King of Kis, bought"). The occurrence of these two names, Kish, or Kis, and Marad, seem to throw light upon the obscure passage as to Nimrod in Gen. x. 10: "And Kush begat Nimrod." The dynasty of Kish, or Kis (כִּישׁ), was certainly the earliest seat of Semitic government in Babylonia, and, as we see from this and other inscriptions, it was closely associated with Marad, over which the King ruled with the title of Nin-Marad, or Nu-Marad (Lord or Man of Marad). Hence we have Kish=Kush, and Nin

Marad=Nimrod. Here again we have a geographical rather than ethnic relation, as in the case I have already noted of the Semitic origin of Elam. It is important to notice that in this valuable text we have the names of many ancient towns, but of the tetrapolis of Nimrod only Agade or Akkad is mentioned.

As an example of the general contents of this inscription I select this extract (Face C, Col. VII. 19 to Col. IX. 15):

|   |                                    |
|---|------------------------------------|
| $(3 \times 1080) + (3 \times 108) + (3 \times 18)$ gan            |                                    |
| (padanu)  | = 3,834 feddan area.               |
| sim-su  | = its price.                       |
| $(3 \text{ se} \times 3600) + (3 \times 600) + (3 \times 60)$ gen |                                    |
| saggal  | = 12,780 kor of seed-corn.         |
| 1 siklu kaspi   | = at 1 shekel silver.              |
| 1 se gur saggal   | = per-kor of seed-corn.            |
| kaspu su  | = its money value.                 |
| 3 bilti 33 mana kaspi   | = 3 talents 33 mana silver.        |
| sim ekli  | = price of the field.              |
| 40 bilti sipatu   | = 40 talents of wool.              |
| simu  | = the price.                       |
| 1 siklu kaspi   | = 1 shekel of silver.              |
| 4 mana sipatu   | = 4 mana of wool.                  |
| kasap-sin   | = the money (silver).              |
| 10 mana kaspi   | = 10 mana silver.                  |
| 3 kililu kaspi  | = 3 kililu of silver.              |
| sukultu (ki-lal) 1 sunu mana kaspi                                | = their weight in silver (1 mana). |
| 6 khazi siparri   | = 6 bronze wedges.                 |
| 4 naplagtum siparri   | = 4 bronze cleavers.               |
| 3 parsatum siparri  | = 4 bronze wedges.                 |
| sim 1 gis-ku  | = price per instrument.            |
| 5 sikli kaspi   | = at 5 shekels of silver.          |
| 1 ma-na 5 sikli kaspi   | = 1 mana 5 shekels silver.         |
| $3 \times 4$ inser bar-an   | = 12 asses.                        |
| sim   | = the price.                       |
| 1 imer-bar an   | = of each ass.                     |
| $\frac{1}{3}$ (mana) kaspi  | = $\frac{1}{3}$ mana silver.       |
| kasap-su-nu   | = their money value.               |
| 4 mana kaspi  | = 4 mana of silver.                |
| 40 samni karpas   | = 40 jars of oil.                  |
| simu  | = the price.                       |
| 1 siklu kaspi   | = 1 shekel of silver.              |
| 10 ka samni   | = per 10 ka of oil.                |
| kasap su  | = its price.                       |

|   |   |
|---|---|
| 3 mana kaspi  | = 3 mana of silver.   |
| 5 (saq us) nitakh                                   | = 5 male slaves.  |
| 4 (saq sal)   | = 4 female slaves.  |
| simu 1 saq  | = price per head.   |
| $\frac{1}{3}$ kaspi                                 | = $\frac{1}{3}$ mana silver.  |
| <i>kasap su-nu</i>                                  | = their value.  |
| 3 mana kaspi  | = 3 mana silver.  |
| 1 martu   | = 1 female child.   |
| <i>sim-sa</i>                                       | = her price.  |
| 13 sikli kaspi                                      | = 13 shekels silver.  |
| (su-nigin) 21 $\frac{1}{3}$ mana, 1al 2 sikli kaspi | = Total: 21 $\frac{1}{3}$ mana, less 2 shekels silver (i.e., 21 mana 18 shekels). |
| <i>Nin ki Nin gan</i>                               | = In addition to the price of the field.  |

The true nature of this inscription is best seen when it is written out in the form of a modern bill :

|  | Mana. | Shekel. |
|--|-------|---------|
| 40 talents of wool at 4 mana for a shekel ...  | 10    | 0       |
| 3 kililu of silver, weighing 1 mana silver (returned),<br>6 khazi of bronze, 4 cleavers of bronze, 3 bronze<br>wedges, at 5 shekels of silver per tool ... | 1     | 5       |
| 12 asses at $\frac{1}{3}$ mana each ...  | 4     | 0       |
| 40 jars of oil at 1 shekel per 10 ka ...   | 3     | 0       |
| 5 male slaves, 4 female slaves at $\frac{1}{3}$ mana (20 shekels)<br>per head ...  | 3     | 0       |
| 1 female child at 13 shekels ...   | 0     | 13      |
|  | 21    | 18      |

$$\text{Price } 21\frac{1}{2} \text{ mana} - 2 \text{ shekels} \left\{ \begin{array}{r} 21 \quad 20 \\ 0 \quad 2 \\ \hline 21 \quad 18 \end{array} \right.$$

This inscription is one of the most important discoveries of recent years, as it affords a striking proof of the antiquity of Chaldean civilization. Here, in an inscription more than 6,000 years old, we have a complete system of commerce, land estimated at corn value, and a currency and system of weights based on the sexagesimal scale. This alone is a proof of long and continued usage.

The system of numbers in use in these early inscriptions is most curious, as its origin is certainly to be traced to digit or finger counting.

The numbers one to five have separate names, but six

is five + one, seven ( $5 + 2$ ), and ten two hands.\* A curious light is thrown on this finger counting by a tablet describing omens derived from the sting of a scorpion on the hand, in which (K 11,746) the order of the fingers are: *Uban rabi*, great finger or toe, second finger, middle (*kabal*) finger, fourth finger, little finger or toe. In the same way fractional parts. Fifths were counted by the fingers inverted (☐)—one nail one-fifth—and thirds by the joints of the finger.

It is difficult to say how the sexagesimal scale came into use, but as twenty would be the hands and feet, so sixty may be the perfect plural of three times twenty. The Babylonians had early worked out their theory of numbers, and were able to work out most elaborated calculations, and with great exactitude. The very fine series of revenue returns recently published by the Museum from the copies of Mr. King show the perfection of their book-keeping about B.C. 2300.

Returning to this interesting inscription, there are a few more points to be worth noting. One of these is the fact that the custom of appointing a commission to survey the land, as in the case of the inscriptions of Meli-Sikhu, was in use at a much earlier time (Face B, Col. VI.):

Boundary fixed on the North by the sons of Tusku.  
Boundary fixed on the South by the land of Gunizi.  
Boundary fixed on the East by Mesilim, son of the King.  
Boundary fixed on the West by the town of Bar (ki).  
Land of the town of Baraz edina in the district of Kis.

The surveyor is called by the Sumerian name, *Gan Gidda* (field - measurer). Of early Babylonian surveys some interesting examples, dating from the age of Sargon and Naram Sin (B.C. 3800) have recently been published

\* See article by T. G. Purchas in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xii. The newly published tablet of numbers ("Select Inscriptions from Babylonian Tablets," Part xii., Plate 3) gives the numbers: 1, as; 2, min; 3, ses; 4, simu; 5, ya; 6, ya-sa = assa ( $5 + 1$ ); 7, imina = ya-min ( $5 + 2$ ); 8, yaesa = ya-es-a ( $5 + 3$ ); 9, isimu = ya-simu ( $5 + 4$ ); 10, bur.

by M. Thureau-Dangin ("Tablettes Chaldéenes Inédites," pl. xxiv., xxv.), where we have neatly drawn plans with dimensions and the names of adjoining property-holders.

The advanced state of Babylonian agriculture in ancient times is shown by the portions of an Assyrian Sumerian dictionary, from tablets in the library of Assurbanipal, published in "Selected Inscriptions," Part xii., where we have a list of words relating to agriculture. The words are arranged to their roots, and followed by the derivations or formations, called *nabnitum*. Here we have the root forms to cultivate (*neru*), to cut, reap, (*rasapu*), to plough, harrow (*kharasu*), to grind corn (*khasalu sa seim*), the harvesting of corn (*ripsu sa seim*). It will be at once seen how much light this long and very archaic inscription found by M. de Morgan at Susa throws upon the beginnings of agriculture in the granary of the ancient East.

Since the first part of this paper was written, Mr. King, M.A., of the British Museum, has published an important Assyrian inscription relating to the campaigns of Naram-sin, the son of Sargon, which goes to confirm the remarks I have made as to the historical character of this monarch's reign. The text is unfortunately much mutilated ("Selected Inscriptions," Part xiii., pl. 44), so I only give the more legible portions :

*Col. I.* (The only important line here contains the name of Naram-sin, son of Sargon, and another a reference to the temple of Anunitum in Sippara.)

*Col. II.* May he rage as a lion upon the Barbarians (*sab manda*), the abode of Bel, . . . . .

And amid the Subarte all of them he slew (*iduk*).

He destroyed all the sea-coast (*tiāmti*) as far as Gutium.

He destroyed also Gutium as far as Elam.

He destroyed Elam also as far as Saban. . . .

He marched for the passes . . .

Dilmun Maganna, Milukha within—all these were.

Seventeen Kings with ninety thousand of their host

Who with them to their aid had come (he slew).

Col. III. (This seems to be partly mythological.)

The guard of the great gods,  
The star Dilbat (Venus), the bright one from Heaven,  
To Naram-sin, the son of Sargon,  
He abandoned the lost race?  
In future days Bel to wickedness.  
In anger of heart Bel  
The city of their soldiers  
He took captive, he besieged.  
In the city their blood was shed like (water?).

It will be noticed that here we have all the expeditions previously known of this King mentioned, as well as the building of the temple of Anunitum mentioned on the contract tablets of his reign.

To complete the early notices of Elam, I may here quote another tablet of later date, being a hymn or poem describing the victory of Nebuchadnezzar I. (B.C. 1120), who is well known to us from a fine boundary-stone in the British Museum (No. 90,858), as well as by a curious tablet which directly refers to the subject of this poem (90-755), and the recovery of the image of Bel Marduk, which had been carried away.

(K 3,426)

TRANSLATION.

The inhabitant of Babylon, Nebuchadnezzar,  
He rose up like a lion (*nosu*), like Rimmon he roared.  
His chieftains together as young lions (*tabbu*) roared.  
To Merodach, the lord of Babylon, he took his prayer.  
How long for me weeping and groaning?  
How long in my land for weeping and beseeching?  
How long for my people grief and tears?  
Lamentations for the Lord of Babylon, a sojourner in a strange  
land (*ina mat makiri asbati*),  
Turn thy heart, to Babylon set it.  
To Bit Sagila, which thou lovest, direct thy face.  
(The words) of Nebuchadnezzar, the Lord of Babylon, he heard  
. . . From Heaven. He looked with favour?  
. . . the words I speak to thee  
. . . of favour which I send thee.  
. . . go to the Land of Amurri (Syria)  
. . . the words of thy message hear.  
. . . to Babylon may he bring me.  
Babylon, Elam.



This inscription relates to the carrying away of the image of Merodach, the absence of which, like the Hebrew ark, was productive of loss of power and Divine aid. The historical character of this captivity of the image of Mero-dach seems to be proved by the curious land grant (No. 92,987) in the Museum, which relates to the giving of certain lands to two fugitive priests from Elam by Nebuchadnezzar I. The historical portion reads: "Samu and Samai his son, priests of Erua, of the city of Kinsar, from the presence of the King of Elam, to the presence of Nebuchadnezzar the King, to Kar Duniyas (Babylonia) fled, and Nebuchadnezzar the King an agreement (?) with them made. With him to Elam they went, and Elam they defeated, and the hand of Bel he took."

I have in this paper gathered together such matter as seems to throw light upon the early history of the little-known kingdom of Elam and its capital of Susa, and the relations existing between them and Babylonia from the earliest times.

# QUARTERLY REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM.

BY PROFESSOR DR. EDWARD MONTET.

## GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

It is just a year since our last report appeared in this *Review*. The long interval is due, as our readers are aware, to my absence on a mission to Morocco, of which a circumstantial account appears in the present number.

In commencing this report, we have pleasure in announcing the publication of an authoritative work by one of my colleagues of the University of Geneva, Professor C. Borgeaud. This work is of interest to the literary world generally, and Orientalism in particular. It is the "*Histoire de l'Université de Genève*," the first volume of which has for its sub-head "*L'Académie de Calvin, 1559-1798*."\* The author has in a masterly way related the origin and development of the Academy of Geneva, and shown the extraordinary influence which Calvin exercised over it. It will be remembered that Calvin taught Hebrew and exegesis of the Old Testament, and that this branch of Oriental studies has been represented successively in Geneva by Antoine Chevalier (1559-1566), Corneille Bertram (1567-1586), Pierre Chevalier (1587-1594), Jean Diodati (1597-1606), Théodore Tronchin (1606-1618), David Le Clerc (1619-1654), Antoine Leger (1654-1661), Pierre de la Fontaine (1661-1675). The following are those who were qualified as "Professors of Oriental languages": Michel Turretini (1676-1718), Samuel Turretini (1718-1719), Jacques Théodore le Clerc (1725-1758), Gedéon Lecoinge (1757-1773), Jean Louis de Roches (1773-1815). We have deemed it both interesting and useful in giving this list, as it includes many illustrious names connected with Oriental studies.

Whilst we are on the subject of University publications, we may mention a volume which the Faculté de Théologie protestante de Paris has published in honour of Montauban on the occasion of the tricentenary of its foundation.† This publication, which includes the theological and historical studies of all the Professors of the Faculté de Paris, contains two works relating to Orientalism—one on the sources of the narratives contained in the first book of Samuel concerning the establishment of the Jewish monarchy, by A. Lods; and the other on the value of Mithriacism as a religious factor of the old world, by J. Réville. In one of our preceding reports‡ we called attention to the remarkable publications of F. Cumont on the religion of Mithra.

Among the encyclopædic works which have recently appeared, we may mention Vol. IX. of the "*Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie*

\* One volume, in 4to., 662 pp., with 30 portraits besides the text, and numerous documents reproduced. Geneva: Georg et Cie., 1900.

† Paris: Fischbacher, 1901.

‡ October, 1900.

und Kirche,"\* and Vol. II. of the "Encyclopædia Biblica," edited by Cheyne and Black,† which contain many important articles on the history of Israel and criticisms of the Old Testament. These compilations cannot be too highly eulogized.

The century just terminated has been fertile in scientific congresses. In 1900, during the Paris Exhibition, they were all assembled in the capital of France. In January last we referred specially to the International Congress of the History of Religions, which closely affects Orientalism. The excellent summary of this congress published by Professor Jean Réville,‡ one of the secretaries of the congress, deserves, from its clearness and preciseness, to be specially noticed here.

With respect to congresses, it is interesting to mention that a conference was held of men of letters, scholars and politicians, upon their utility from a scientific point of view, an account of which has appeared in the "Bulletin universel des Congrès."§ The opinion of specialists is much divided, but judging from the questions put, and the replies, it was considered that the real advantage of such congresses was the establishing of personal acquaintanceships (*de visu*) of scholars instead of from mere correspondence. This fact is important in promoting the advancement of science and Oriental investigations.

The end of the nineteenth century has called forth in every department of research a review of the progress made during the century. In this category we have pleasure in referring to an interesting work by Professor E. Carpenter, entitled "A Century of Comparative Religion, 1800-1900."|| This eminent historian therein sets forth with that broadness of view and competence which characterizes him "the place of study in modern thought, the light on the Old Testament, and the sacred books of the East" (India, China, etc.).

The "Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticanum," published by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, has been enriched by some additional fascicules. We may remind our readers that in 1899 appeared the second part of the second volume of "Inscriptions phéniciennes." This volume, as also the plates which accompany it, is of little interest, as all the inscriptions come from Carthage. Since then the third part of the first volume of "Inscriptions himyaritiques et sabéennes"¶ has appeared, the contents of which are of much greater interest. Great praise is due to the learning and indefatigable labours of the eminent scholars who have devoted their time to such a remarkable publication.

#### THE OLD TESTAMENT—HISTORY OF ISRAEL—GEOGRAPHY OF PALESTINE.

In the series of the "Sacred Books of the Old Testament," published under the direction of Haupt, we have to announce two fresh volumes—

\* 3<sup>te</sup> Auflage herausg. von Hauck. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901.

† London: Adam and Charles Black, 1901.

‡ Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1900 (official publication).

§ Paris, December, 1900. || Reprinted from the *Inquirer* (London, 1901).

¶ Parisis, e Reipublicæ Typographeo, 1900.

the Book of Numbers, by Paterson ; and the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, by Guthe and Batten.\*

This publication is conspicuous by the elegance of its typographical printing, although the employment of different colours in order to distinguish the several authors of the Biblical books is of little use, and only obscures the text instead of rendering the distinction easy.

The song of Debora has been the subject of an interesting, exegetical and critical study in a dissertation† presented to the Faculté de Théologie of Geneva. The author, A. Segond, has attempted the reconstruction of this old poetical text, the interpretation of which presents so many difficulties.

I may point out a curious paper by Th. Naville on "The Uniformity of the Two Tables of the Law in the Hebrew Text of the Ten Commandments."‡ The author has succeeded in dividing into two equal parts (same number of letters) the Hebrew text of the Ten Commandments (whether of Exodus or of Deuteronomy) in such a way as to form two identical tables, both as regards length and disposition of the text.

The "Dictionnaire de la Bible" published by the Abbé Vigoroux has been enlarged this year by two more parts (XVIII. and XIX.),§ continuing from the word *Hanàs* (name of an Egyptian town quoted in Exod. xxx. 4), and ending with the article on "Versions italiennes de la Bible." These parts include many interesting topics and some fine illustrations.

On the subject of the History of Israel, Winckler has published Vol. II. of his various essays.|| This volume, which has the sub-head "die Legende," treats, from a mythical point of view, of traditions relating to the Patriarchs, Judges, and the Kings—Saul, David, Solomon. Abraham is a representative of the lunar divinity, Joseph is a solar hero, Moses appears as Tammuz-Jahveh, etc.

The geography of Palestine has been enriched by an exceedingly interesting publication by L. Gautier: "Autour de la Mer Morte."¶ It is the description of a journey undertaken in 1899 from Hebron to Enguedi, Masada, Oumm-Baghek, Ghor-es-Safiyeh, Kerak, Ledjoûn, Rabba, Dibân, Ma'in, Madéba, Meschetta, Mount Nebo and Jerusalem. The work, illustrated with photographs taken by the author, is written in a very lively style, and gives an exact picture of the various districts. It is known that Mr. Gautier has made himself a specialist of Palestinian geography, and that he is preparing a great work on the ancient geography of the Holy Land. We look forward to its appearance with much interest.

A fifth edition of the Hebrew grammar by Chabot has appeared, revised and enlarged,\*\* which we have already had occasion to announce.

We here draw our readers' attention to a biography of quite a special interest, that of Nicolas Clénard, a Belgian scholar (†1542), both Biblical and Arabic. This biography, written by Chauvin and Roersch,††

\* Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1900 and 1901.

† Geneva: Kündig, 1900.

‡ Geneva: Kündig, 1901.

§ Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1901.

|| "Geschichte Israels in Einzeldarstellungen." Leipzig: Pfeiffer, 1900.

¶ Geneva: Eggimann, 1901.

\*\* Fribourg en Brisgau: Herder, 1900.

†† "Étude sur la vie et les travaux de Nicolas Clénard." Brussels: Hayez, 1900.

has been awarded a prize by the Royal Academy of Belgium. There is nothing stranger than the story of the busy life of Clénard, the manner in which he picked up Hebrew, and above all Arabic, and his sojourn in Morocco, etc. Clénard, who was for that time a distinguished Orientalist, was, one may say, a passionate lover of the languages and of things relating to the East. Though of a timid nature, his love of Oriental science caused him to boldly enter on the most audacious enterprises.

In bringing to a close this short outline of some works relating to the Old Testament, we beg to mention a very remarkable book by J. Réville on the fourth Gospel, its origin and historical value.\* The intimate relations of the thoughts of the author of this Gospel with the theory of *Logos* in Philo of Alexandria in connection with the idea of Alexandrian Judaism, heir to the Old Testament and Hellenism, justifies the quoting of Réville's work in a study of Orientalism.

#### TALMUDIC AND RABBINICAL LITERATURE—SYRIAC.

Mr. L. Goldschmidt's edition of the Talmud de Babylone (text and German translation) has been increased by a new part, thus completing Vol. II.; it includes the Joma book.†

The language of the Talmud and of the Midrash continues to give birth to works by specialists. We may point out, in this regard, the "Beitraege zur hebraeischen Synonymik in Talmud und Midrash," by Z. Rabbiner.‡

The French translation of the "Rituel du Judaïsme," by Neviasky, is being continued, the fifth portion having just appeared.§

I have received the announcement and also a specimen of "The Jewish Encyclopædia: a descriptive record of the history, religion, literature and customs of the Jewish people from the earliest times to the present day,"|| which appears to be very interesting. I shall await until the whole work reaches my hands before I pass an opinion upon it.

Finally, there is the publication of the last portion (Fasc. X., Part II.) of the "Thesaurus Syriacus," by the late R. Payne Smith.¶ This wonderful work, due to the assistance of many eminent savants, is a most remarkable monument raised in honour of the Syriac language and literature.

#### ARAB-ISLAMIC LITERATURE.

Honour to whom honour is due. The last volume of "Tables alphabetiques du Kitâb al-Agâni," edited by Guidi with the aid of several Arabists,\*\* appeared a few months ago, and has thus completed this fine publication. One cannot too highly praise these indices, arranged with the greatest of care, by Guidi, Brunnow, Hélouis, and others; it affords great facility for making use of this Arabic collection, which is so rich in every way. Guidi and his assistants merit the warmest thanks of Orientalists.

The French translation of the "Thousand and One Nights" by Mardrus

\* Paris: Leroux, 1901 (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études).

† Berlin: Calvary, 1901.

‡ Berlin: Itzkowski, 1899.

§ Orleans: Michau, 1901.

|| New York: Funk and Wagnall's Company.

¶ Oxonii, e Typographeo Clarendoniano, 1901.

\*\* Leide: Brill, 1900.

has been increased this year by three volumes.\* This translation, the merits of which are doubtful, has, it appears, had a great success in France; this success is certainly due to the fact that the translation enters into the so-called pornographic literature. It is to be regretted that one of the chef-d'œuvres of Arabic literature should be presented under this erroneous and false aspect to the general public, who are incapable of judging and criticising.

It is with pleasure that we mention the publication of the first part of a work by E. Möller, entitled "Beiträge zur Mahdilehre des Islams.† This part includes the Arabic text, with annotations of Ibn Babuġe el Kummis (*Kitābu Kamal-ed-dini wa tamānin ni'mati fi ithbāt-il-'raibati wa Kashf-il-hirati*, written about the year A.H. 350). The great importance which attaches to the Islamic doctrine of the Mahdi makes us hope that the work commenced by Möller will be continued.

There are several pamphlets and interesting articles to be noted: "La Constitution du Code théodosien sur les Agri déserti et le droit arabe," by Chauvin.‡ A note on three Arabic inscriptions of the Tlemcen Museum, by Marçais.§ Moulieras, whose important works on Morocco we recently referred to in our report, has given an account of his journey to Fez, undertaken last year, in the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie d'Alger et de l'Afrique du Nord* (No. 1, Algiers, 1901), and in the *Bulletin trimestriel de Géographie et Archéologie d'Oran* (Part 86, Oran, 1901).

We now close this brief summary in drawing attention to the following interesting works. The first relates to Algeria, and deals with the indigenous question in Algeria at the commencement of the twentieth century.|| The author, E. Mercier, knows the Algerian Arabs well, both their good qualities and their vices, and his book is a defence, full of good sense, in favour of just treatment of the native. He gives us very accurately the history of the conquest, the great difficulties encountered by the French, the faults committed, and the way to repair those which may still be repairable.

In a volume entitled "Chrétiens et Musulmans" (voyages and studies),¶ by L. de Cortenson, the author explains chiefly the Armenian Question and the deplorable attitude of Europe as to Turkey. The work ends with a general description of the Musulman peoples, their present state and their future, and concludes by hoping that the transformation of retrograde Islam may be maintained by the liberal current which is beginning to manifest itself.

Finally, Mr. H. E. Lea, the celebrated author of the "History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages," has published a volume of very great interest on the lamentable destinies of the Moors in Spain, entitled "The Moriscos of Spain: their Conversion and Expulsion."\*\* We reserve to ourselves the pleasure of referring again to this important book; indeed, there is nothing more attractive, but on the other hand more sorrowful, than the religious policy of Spanish Catholicism with regard to the Arabo-Spanish population and their unfortunate descendants.

\* Vols. VI., VII. and VIII., Editions de la Revue Blanche, Paris, 1901.

† Heidelberg: E. Winter, 1901.

‡ Mons: Dequesne-Masquillier, 1900.

§ *Bulletin archéologique*, Paris, 1900.

|| Paris: Challamel, 1901.

¶ Paris: Plon, 1901.

\*\* Philadelphia: Lea, 1901.

## A JESUIT UPON CHINA.

BY E. H. PARKER.

PÈRE LOUIS GAILLARD, S.J., who unfortunately died just as he had finished accumulating materials for the present work, has left us a very valuable record, largely consisting of what may be called *documents inédits* connected with the opening of China to commerce and religion. His book, which runs into some 450 pages, is styled "Nankin Port Ouvert";\* but this title (suggested, no doubt, by the fact that the author was a missionary there at the moment when the river "port" in question was formally declared open in the spring of 1899) is quite inadequate to embrace the broad range of subjects involved: the work was very shortly noticed upon page 216 of the last number of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, and it is now possible to devote a little more attention to the subject. If the vivacious author had been spared to complete his own study, there can be little doubt that he would have managed to rearrange the notes collected with so much care, and to place the different points before us somewhat more lucidly. As it is, the frequent anticipation of dates and future events, in order to illustrate each phase of a "growing" subject as it appeared in process of development to the mind of the composer, leaves an occasional impression of hasty and ravelled thought, and necessitates the combing out into straight lines of the tangle of events, in order to do full justice to the personal sentiments involved. But although in point of literary arrangement there is thus much to be desired, still, as a record of events, and a storehouse of dates, names, and facts, the work of Père Gaillard will always possess a high value in the libraries of those interested in the Far East, and will always be useful as a reference store.

\* "Nankin Port Ouvert," or "Nankin d'alors et d'aujourd'hui," No. 18 of the "Variétés Sinologiques." Printed at the Tusèwè Orphanage, Shanghai.

The regretted missionary whose labours are now under review volunteered for service in China in 1885, and speedily acquired considerable facility in speaking the colloquial known as "southern mandarin." His impatient nature never took kindly to the written characters, and for this reason he was, as his colleague and editor admits, "no sinologue"; yet his contributions to sinology have been useful, not to say brilliant, as well as various. Perhaps his most striking effort was the treatise on the "*Croix et Svastika en Chine*" (1893); but, in that case also, the want of technical order and arrangement often renders it difficult for the less-gifted mind to classify and to seize the leading points at issue. The fact is, the energetic inquirer had by constitution more zeal for raking up forgotten facts in the interests of what he believed to be religious truth, than patience to collate, or logic to make the most of those facts. When to this it is added with regret that his last work is throughout an onslaught upon the supposed corrupt political motives of Great Britain, and a sneer at the undisciplined theology of the Protestants, it must not be thought that the present writer in so doing presumes to condemn "Jesuitical" methods generally, or even that he censures the frank hostility of Père Gaillard (with whom he was slightly acquainted in 1887); on the contrary, it is strong evidence of the excellent moral position occupied by the French Jesuits of Shanghai, that they are bold enough to publish a book so full of cheery human weaknesses; and honest enough, in sending it round to their friends, to apologize for these passionate little slips against the canons of *bonne camaraderie*. And as to Père Gaillard himself, most of those who knew him will cherish his memory more for his outspoken "war carried into the hostile camp" than if he had preserved an unctuous exterior and laboured heavily to express "Jesuitically" that which he did not feel. It was Dean Swift who is reported to have said: "A man is none the less a man for wearing a black coat and a white choker." The exigencies of Père Gaillard's local position, it is true,



compelled him not only to dispense with these spruce marks of dignity, but also to shave his crown and cultivate a Tartar pigtail. But everything that tends to show that a Jesuit is an imperfect man like the rest of us, serves at the same time to divest the society of its supposed secrecy and mystery, and to make for its success in promoting, along with rival sects, that true Christianity which consists in kindness and the absence of Pharisaism.

Having somehow or other—perhaps in consequence of the squabble about extending the French concession at Shanghai—got into his head the idea that the object of Great Britain has always been to keep France out of the ancient capital of China, and to secure the whole Yangtsze Valley for herself, Père Gaillard challenges her vested rights from the beginning, and displays tremendous energy in trying to prove that England can really put forward no well-founded special claim to have “opened” China in 1842; that, so far as Nankin at least is concerned, France’s claims to that honour are as good, if not superior; and that, in any case, Great Britain’s objects have always been ignoble and mercantile, whilst those of France have invariably been high-minded and generous. At first sight this view may seem startling to the “gentlemen of England” and the *prédicant avec son Bible*, who have so long been presumptuously flattering themselves upon their own virtues. Yet it is perhaps good for us occasionally to see ourselves as others see us, if only from many a future mess to free us; and Père Gaillard certainly wields his flagellatory weapon with famous force upon our tender skins. For the convenience of readers who do not read and understand French with facility, most of the vigorous expressions of our active-minded author are here translated into English—but in all cases word for word and literally—except where the verve or the “wut” of the original French is desirable in order to bring out the true spirit of the dream. Nankin was recaptured from the Taiping rebels by the Imperialists in 1864, after an adverse occupation of eleven

years' duration, and the difficulty at this second stage was to get Li Hung-chang (for a short period Viceroy at Nankin) to agree with certain French propositions for concessions at that capital, unless it could be arranged for the English to sign an agreement at the same moment. The French temperament comes out curiously in their reiterated objection, whilst corresponding with the mandarins, to the use of such terms as "Anglo-French" instead of "Franco-English" in the negotiations. Père Gaillard himself thinks that "England tried to secure the lion's share," and in support of his opinion quotes the following words of the French Chargé d'Affaires, Comte de Rocheschouart: "England will employ all her energy to keep the whole cake for herself." No wonder, then, that under these circumstances the correspondence "brings specially into relief the rôle of France thus opening Nankin for the ultimate benefit, it would seem, of England, who now pretends to exclude her rival from the Yangtze." This sentence is a fair example of how the author, by a literary process of endosmosis and exosmosis, "runs" one period into the other. The history of French colonization in the Far East, and of the ultimate establishment of French missionaries in China, is next gone into at critical length. It seems that, so early as 1604, Henry IV. had projected a trading company, and that in 1660 this project "took form." It does not appear very clearly what that form was; at all events until 1728, when a certain Duvaleur, of the Mississippi Company, established a factory at Canton. In 1745 permission was obtained to trade at Whampoa (twelve miles below Canton), where, in 1802, one Pirou "for some time hoisted the tricolour"; but it was not until 1829 that "the Chinese Government recognised a French Consul," and even then it was only "after four years of effort that Consul Guernarert erected his flag-staff there." Whilst this recalcitrant flag was, during the whole of two centuries, still in laborious process of hoisting, the whole crew of a French ship called the *Navigateur* was massacred at Macao (1828), and sixteen

of the guilty persons had been executed; "but we had a difficulty in obtaining the payment of the indemnity agreed to." It is, then, to be inferred that this compensation was really paid, and was not of the shifting kind that M. Constans is at this moment alternately getting and losing at the hands of the unspeakable Turk. However, in September, 1843, a "pompous ceremony" was at last announced by the newspapers; this was no other than the handing in by the Consul of his letters patent to the Viceroy. "Thus was the road prepared for the Lagrené mission, the moral and intellectual aim of which was understood by China, in contrast to the mercantile aspect of British claims." These words inevitably suggest to the twentieth century reader certain purely "moral and intellectual damages" connected with the opium question, for we are told that "France did not entirely disinterest herself" in this matter, although "England endeavoured to seize all the profit." There seem to have been some queer scenes between M. Lagrené and Kiying about this time. One crucial question was whether the term *T'ien-chu T'ang* (sanctioned by the Popes) or *Li-pai T'ang* (Hall of Worship) should be used for expressing the idea of cathedrals and churches. The Chinese seem, for historical reasons, to have had an insuperable objection to the former (Lord of Heaven Hall), for at last M. Lagrené reluctantly gave way. Here his own words are absolutely necessary in order to do justice to his feelings and carry conviction to the reader: "*Je dus céder à ses larmes. . . . Il se précipita dans mes bras,*" etc. But, strangest of all, this lachrymose and affectionate Manchu succeeded, by dint of his tearful embraces, in confining foreign priests to the five ports. Owing to the backward and forward way in which Père Gaillard's rapid thoughts were working when he described these stirring episodes, it is a little difficult to mentally place the following statements in consecutive order: "Still, it was to France that China was about to owe her religious emancipation. . . . The attitude of our compatriots, con-

trasting with that of the English and the Americans, was pleasing to China, humiliated as she was by them. . . . Kiyong fell back on the old friendship of his country with France, the only nation that has never demanded anything unjust from her, and has never done her any harm. . . . But the *prédicants de la réforme*, as we shall show further on, lost no time in securing to themselves by diplomatic means a large part of these advantages which, whilst professing to despise, they covet so acrimoniously."

We are next carried to the Peking negotiations of 1858-60. The treaty of 1858 abrogated all previous edicts in restraint of religion. Still, it was agreed between the Governments of France and China that "missionaries, not being clothed with an official character, should not mix themselves up with any matters foreign to religion"; and this now brings us to the question of the celebrated clause introduced by the Abbé Delamarre, without the knowledge of the French Minister, into the Chinese text of the treaty of 1860; and that, too, after it had been formally agreed between China and France that *le texte français seul devait faire foi*. This famous clause, which the confiding Chinese only detected some time afterwards, gives "permission to the French missionaries to hire or purchase lands in all the provinces, and to build upon such at their pleasure." To an ordinary lay mind such an interpolation is very much as though a Russian "pope" should slip into the English of the Black Sea Treaty a proviso that Russian ironclads might freely anchor in the Bosphorus, or as though Bismarck should quietly add a cipher to the sum of 5,000,000,000 francs. But Père Gaillard triumphantly cites the fact that (in our own day, of course) that eminently fair journal, the *Croix*—whose editors Cardinal Vaughan has just welcomed to an English refuge—*fait aussi honneur à M. Delamarre de la célèbre clause*. He himself thinks as follows: "We refuse to admit that the treaty was conceived in this narrow *spirit*, however it may be with the *letter* of the French text. At the same time we will admit that the

omission from this latter text of the interpolated clause is a matter eminently regrettable from all points of view." He then goes on to indulge in a piece of what some persons might deem casuistry, or sophistry, or (according to the protest of the Rev. John Gerard) even "Jesuitry," but what after all is merely a piece of human nature, on a par with the daily shifts and doubles of our lay diplomats. He points out that the French text was only to *faire foi* "in case of doubt or controversy." Now, *was* there any doubt or controversy? No, sir! It was *certain* that the words were in one text and not in the other. There *could* therefore be no doubt, and there *was* no controversy; hence the agreement about *faire foi* could not properly apply.—Q.E.D.

But although the light-hearted and forgiving priest is thus able to take a tolerant view of a little pious legerdemain, which he himself admits is *éminemment regrettable à tous égards*, he is not quite prepared to extend the same charity to that perfidious Albionese, Lord Clarendon, who firmly declined to take advantage of or have anything to do with the interpolation business under the favoured nation clause. This was a *défaillance honteuse*. Sir Rutherford Alcock, indeed, incurs his displeasure to such an extent that he sorrowfully feels compelled to dub him a "party" or a "person." "*Ce personnage (je trace à regret ce qualificatif)* dares to write: 'I do not hesitate to express my belief that it would be a very good thing for the peace of China if both Christianity and the missionaries were excluded from it—at least, for the present.'" Sir Thomas Wade also washed his hands of the matter, but, of course, "under fallacious, not to say hypocritical, pretexts: . . . above all, trade and the selfish interests of British traffickers!" The Duke of Somerset comes in for his share of censure as a punishment for having supported the *vulgaires calculs du Foreign Office*. His Grace asked in Parliament: "What right have we to introduce missionaries into the interior of China?" Père Gaillard says: "This is the desertion pure and simple, if not menacing, of mission-

aries in the interior. . . . It is Anglo-Saxon animosity, persisting in confounding the efforts at proselytism of the Church of Rome . . . with French expansion in the Far East. . . . Great excitement now in the jealous and undisciplined clan of Protestant ministers. . . . Their entire lack of doctrinal unity . . . cannot but stand convicted (*s'accuser*) . . . in the eyes of the mandarin world." (I leave the original word *s'accuser* because it is susceptible of so many different English interpretations.)

Now all this may be very true. It is a fact that the Protestant Churches and sects are not so well organized in point of theology and discipline as the Roman Church, not to say as the Society of Jesus; but although Great Britain now extends to both the latter complete toleration in her midst, and also in all places under her flag, she has her own deliberate opinion as to whether it is not better to allow "free trade" and "open door" to all theologies or "sciences of the imagination." Still, apart from questions of religious "truth," it is remarkable to hear ourselves denounced so vigorously for exclusiveness and meanness at a moment when the French Orders, including the Jesuits themselves, are being once more driven out of Most Catholic France, and are again seeking protection in Jersey or in other hospitable asylums of heretical England, where they may continue in perfect peace and liberty those exercises and services which their own ungrateful Government, for political reasons, insists upon China's accepting. Nay, more, in 1880-81 Père Gaillard himself was obliged to betake himself to Jersey for safety, and often (through accidental circumstances) did the present writer hear, at that date, of his charming qualities as a fellow-student and a fellow-traveller. France's inconsistency in these matters is thus explained by our lively author, whom we have always known to be more *spirituel* than logical: *Elle à tort chez elle et raison en Chine*. Unfortunately, many of his powerful countrymen now think *elle à raison chez elle et tort en Chine*. Which is it? Did Sancho invent Dulcinea

to deceive the Don, or was the Duchess right when she tried to persuade Sancho that he himself had been enchanted, and had really seen a genuine Dulcinea?

But although Père Gaillard likes politically to see French naval demonstrations in the Yangtze for the assertion of Catholic rights, and objects doctrinally to the undisciplined efforts of *ministres avec ses Bibles*, he did not at all like reading of Sir Rutherford Alcock's gun-boat policy, in support of three persecuted Protestant missionaries; nor does he approve of *les révérends*, taken as a whole, dissociating themselves politically from France, when the aims of the Catholics happen to be also such that they may derive advantage from Protestant support. In reference to this "person's" demonstration before Yangchow, he says: "The three reverends were thus able to resume the peaceful distribution of their tracts tainted with errors, those inviting pamphlets in which a honeyed phraseology discusses so many adulterated truths." One is almost forcibly reminded of the celebrated denunciatory article in the *Eatonswill Gazette* which Mr. Pott read out to Mr. Pickwick. And because the Rev. Griffith John, many years after that event, refuses on behalf of the *prédicants protestants* to claim a share in the privileges exacted by the energetic M. Auguste Gérard under the decree of March 15, 1889 (*sage décret impérial*), granting an official status to the Roman Catholic missionaries, Père Gaillard insists upon it that, however much Protestants and Catholics may differ amongst themselves, "this difference, enormous from the doctrinal point of view, is nil or chimerical from the political point of view." He considers (little dreaming that a year after he wrote, the Jesuits would once more be packing up their traps in France) that this concession to the French missionaries "is the logical expansion of certain very formal articles in the treaties," and is simply a corollary of the "concordat which regularizes the relations of the clergy with the civil and military officials of France." *Absit omen.*

These words *point de vue politique* inevitably bring us to the consideration of an able paper contributed to the *Monthly Review* of August last by the Rev. John Gerard, S.J., in which he shows us that the Jesuits as a society are strictly forbidden to concern themselves with political matters, and denies that they ever do so—at least, without disobeying the fundamental rules of their Order. Yet here is a French Jesuit, whose book, issued under the immediate authority of his Bishop, is a piece of political special pleading from the first page to the last. The explanation is, however, not so difficult as it may at first sight appear, and the able author of “A Jesuit Plea for Jesuits” not only lays down what is most probably literally true, but is strictly within the truth in the spirit; and he honestly believes it; and (if an outsider may presume to say so) he is right. An English Jesuit is no more like a French Jesuit than an English Freemason is like one of those mysterious members of the Continental *franc maçonnerie* which frightens the Vatican so much. Religions and “rules” may do their best or their worst, but men will always be, and have always been, first themselves, savouring of their own soil, and in a secondary degree what enthusiasts may try to artificially make them. As a matter of fact, a Spaniard is now at the head of the Society of Jesus, which has, or until quite recently still had, its headquarters as usual in recent years, at Fiesole. But those facts no more infuse Spanish or Italian subtlety into the mental composition of English Jesuits than Père Gaillard’s audacious and witty sallies convince American Jesuits of French perfection. English Roman Catholic cathedrals and churches are no more like their gaudy Portuguese prototypes than English Catholics are in mental constitution like Portuguese Catholics; in the same way, English Jesuits are no more like the Jesuits who in past times “earned an evil reputation” than English Princes are like Orleans Princes. We are all saturated with the traditions of our rearing. If English Jesuits, instead of being in



a free country and surrounded on every side by an atmosphere of liberal traditions, were transferred to a French or a Chinese medium, it is inevitable that for purposes of self-defence, freedom, and expansion, they must endeavour to gain political interest like any other member of the body politic; in fact, it is perhaps in part precisely because they affect not so to meddle, to hold aloof from their fellow-men, and to hearken to mysterious governing voices which are not the national voices, that they are viewed with unjust suspicion in a country where they do not deserve it. Their reputation was acquired in evil days, when they had to intrigue in order to live, and this reputation has to be lived down in free England and America.

But, making every allowance for the special circumstances which excuse a certain amount of national prejudice and political wire-pulling in a distracted country like China, where nearly every European government is somewhat ignobly engaged in snatching what it can from a drifting mass of wreckage, we must point out that Père Gaillard, in the excitement of the contest, has gone a little beyond the mark, and has come perilously near falling within the mischief of the "rule," cited so aptly by his English colleague. For instance, he asks: "Under what pretext would the Celestial Empire refuse to the Czar the establishment of a Russian concession at Nankin?" He alludes to the forcible measures taken by British authority at Hankow to protect what they believed to be British property against inconsiderate Russian attacks as a *débarquement téméraire*. Though willing enough to see a clause surreptitiously inserted into a Chinese version in order to "expand" a solemn French agreement, he cannot see the reasonableness of the Anglo-Chinese convention about Chusan being accorded any continuous life at all. "To have once occupied a position seems to constitute for England a title to reoccupy to-day." Criminal England is described as a *troisième larron* for having accepted the transfer

from Japan of Wei-hai-Wei; but when (p. 361) it comes to Kwang-chou Wan, a thousand miles distant from the spot where England was "balancing" herself against the German and Russian seizures, we are told that KOANG-TCHEOU-WAN *forme un POINT D'APPUI, une pierre d'attente peut-être, pour l'action militaire de la France.* We are left to conclude that such action may be required because "insatiable Japan and ambitious Italy have their covetousness" after Nankin shall have fallen *à bref delai, dans la sphère absorbante et, quoi qu'il en semble, EXCLUSIVE de l'Angleterre.* If all this is not a deadly contravention of the "fundamental rule" of St. Ignatius Loyola, what is it? Perhaps it is only a venial contravention!

Like a true member of a Church militant, the good Père Gaillard leaves us in no possible doubt as to what he really means and wants (pp. 391-393): "*L'Église catholique enseigne et prouve que ses évêques sont les seuls évêques légitimes . . . l'Église remaine de sa nature est intransigeante, intolérante même . . . le protestantisme ne possède aucune autorité pour la conseiller, la créer, l'imposer, la maintenir [i.e., unanimity]. . . . Renvoyons courtoisement les protestants sincères à leur Bible! . . . Qu'ils se contentent de jalouser ou de dédaigner les légitimes privilèges de leurs rivaux, sans prétendre les régenter.*" Now, at last, we Anglo-Saxon heretics know where we are; and, further, seeing that by treaty Chinese are free to become Christians, and that the official status of Roman Catholic missionaries is formally recognised, Père Gaillard boldly knocks down all remaining obstacles, and claims over Chinese the right of interference in matters not religious: "*Le principe de non-intervention à priori, et dans ces limites, est destructif, au premier chef, de la clause d'affranchissement religieux.*" In other words, let us have the good old Inquisition back, and let France work it as she chooses, like a second Manila. In spite of the German Bishop Auger's complaint in 1891 that the French Minister Lemaire was not showing sufficient energy in protecting Catholics; and in spite of the Holy

See's yielding to the Berlin Government so far as to allow Germany to protect her own Catholic subjects, Père Gaillard assures us that the "traditional rights of France" were once more reaffirmed by edict under pressure from M. Pichon in March, 1899.

There is only one other matter upon which, in the interests of truth, it is necessary to suggest "new matter" upon a *chose jugée*. Upon p. 258 allusion is made to an act of vandalism worthy of the *forbans de siècles passés*. It is stated that an American named Jenkins was charged at Shanghai on July 7, 1868, with having joined one Ernest Oppert in a filibustering expedition. Oppert had "met" in China some French missionaries recently expelled from Corea, and had "learnt from them" of the riches buried in a royal tomb some distance up a river running into the Jerome Gulf. Possibly Père Gaillard was impelled to allude to this discreditable business, not in order to contrast American and German piracy with French humility, but because some years ago an Anglo-Saxon author mistakenly charged "a French Jesuit priest named Farout" with being at the bottom of it. The writer of the present notice at once defended the Jesuits, and pointed out (*China Review*, vol. xix., p. 35) that they had nothing whatever to do with the matter, but that the Rev. Stanislas Féron, a French missionary who had fled from Corea to China, meeting there Ernest Oppert, who had already traded in Corea, proposed to Oppert, and even pressed upon him, the rifling of the tombs; nay, more, M. Féron accompanied Oppert and Jenkins from Shanghai in the *China*, and also in the *Greta*, which latter steamer went up the Corean River, and he acted as guide and interpreter whilst the tomb was being forced. A full and precise account of the whole matter, from inception to conclusion, is given in Ernest Oppert's "Forbidden Land" (Sampson Low and Co., 1880), now lying before the writer's eyes. It is not necessary to say what Roman Catholic mission was concerned, for of course the mission was innocent, and M. Féron

was at once removed to another part of the world ; but since Père Gaillard has chosen to mention *forbans*, it is only just to state positively that a French Catholic priest, *not* a Jesuit, but of eleven years' standing in Corea, suggested, promoted, and assisted at the attempted robbery, his object being to force the Corean Regent to terms in favour of Christians.

Let us leave now the polemical part of the discussion, in which, as anyone can see for himself, Père Gaillard completely redargues, so far as the French Jesuits of Shanghai are concerned, the plea of the Rev. John Gerard that Jesuits are forbidden to, and do not, concern themselves in matters of international politics. The Shanghai Jesuits did not so intervene at one time ; or, if they did so, it was done so circumspectly that attention was not attracted ; but since the energetic M. Auguste Gérard succeeded the somewhat boneless M. Lemaire in October, 1893, the successive French Governments have seen fit to give a strong fillip to propagandism ; not for religious, but for purely political purposes ; and the imprudent persecutions of the Chinese (which up to that date had rarely involved the Jesuits in trouble) have almost forced the Shanghai Jesuits into the vortex of international intrigues, whether they like it or no. It is to be regretted that it should be so, for their "record" in educational and religious work done stood, and stands, far away ahead of any other mission in China, and the position they once occupied was exceptionally independent and dignified ; indeed, that position is still almost unchanged. It is the exception for Jesuits in any part of the world to accept bishoprics, for diocesan functions territorially administered in most cases interfere with the free working of their rules, for which reason St. Ignatius forbade them to *seek* any dignities. But in Shanghai it is different, for nearly the whole of Kiang Nan Catholicism is reared by, and savours of, Jesuits, so that a Bishop other than a Jesuit would be almost an impossibility. The work done is enormous. Apart from Shanghai itself, the mission is divided into 19 sections, comprising 100 districts,

nearly all the *chrétientés* of each district being under the jurisdiction of a single missionary. The head of a section is called a *ministre* (not to be confused with *un ministre avec son Bible*). There are at this moment 184 Jesuits proper (*religieux*), including 41 natives, 92 secular clergy, and over 300 members of religious congregations, male and female. All these last, except a few native female nun-catechists and native "Présentandines," are in or about Shanghai; they are assisted in their work by nearly 200 catechists and close on 1,160 schoolmasters and schoolmistresses; besides 770 "virgins," these last in charge of cleaning work, the baptism of dying infants, and so on. There are in all about 125,000 Christians in "Kiang Nan," 90 per cent. of that total being in Kiang Su, and 10 per cent. in An Hwei, the two provinces which make up the now quasi-obsolete division of Kiang Nan. There has never been any serious or properly substantiated scandal connected with the Jesuit Mission, which has always had the respect, sympathy, moral support, and even in a measure the pecuniary support, of the British, American, and other non-French and non-Catholic communities. Such laxity as one hears about from travellers in connection with the domestic habits of Spanish, Portuguese, and other regulars in Peru, Hungary, Manila, and one or two "mixed" countries, has never been so much as hinted at in reference to the French Jesuits of Shanghai, the purity of whose personal character is absolutely beyond reproach. The scientific, educational, charitable, and religious work they do is in every way admirable; their influence upon the country can do nothing but good, so long as their motives continue to be cosmopolitan and spiritual, unconnected with the meddlesome home political intrigues which the sensible M. Delcassé has done so much to keep down. It is upon the results of solid and sympathetic work of this admirable kind that their future reputation and success must depend, and not upon polemical discussions as to the relative values of churches, bishops, priests, and preachers, Catholic and Protestant; in fact, it is precisely

the strength and integrity of their corporate character, which allows them to indulge *l'esprit franc* of men like Père Gaillard with an occasional human fling, without risk of damaging their position seriously.

Christianity has nothing very much to be proud of in China after passing through the ordeal of last year's degrading events. The wretched Manchus may have been foolishly desperate, cowardly, and savagely cruel in asserting what they believed to be their legitimate rights; but it is ridiculous and hypocritical for nations whose Governments sanction the driving of 5,000 helpless Chinese civilians into the Amur, the taking away of libraries, astronomical instruments, etc., and wink at the cruel and unnecessary "expeditions," massacres, and lootings of inoffensive merchants, gentry, and rustics in the Peking plain, to pose as merciful deliverers, fit to teach the Chinese an honourable lesson, and the highroad to holiness. At one time there were plenty of people in Europe ready to defend the slave trade, which has only been abolished in its cruellest and most degrading form within our own memories in the United States, not to speak of more backward countries like Brazil, Cuba, etc. Just as "Uncle Tom's Cabin" signalized a furious reaction, and a current of human sympathy in favour of the down-trodden negro race, so is it to be reasonably expected that before very long the consciences of thinking Christians will be aroused to the iniquity of tyrannizing over the unmasculine Chinese who form one-third of the human race. What has so-called Christianity done for them up to date? So far, it has simply proved to them the superior chivalry of the Japanese, and given a well-deserved impetus to honest Buddhism. The ridiculous inconsistency of European action is what must most aggravate an intellectual and reasoning nation like the Chinese. Russia will allow neither Frenchman, German, nor Englishman to "save the souls" of Russians; no English Protestant missionaries are allowed to roam about or "correct

errors" in France. Frenchmen summarily eject at home the very regulars they are persistently foisting upon China. Germany was only recently engaged in a deadly struggle for her internal rights with the Pope; her first Catholic Bishop in China is indissolubly connected with the seizure of Kiao Chou. Italy is divided at home into two hostile camps. Spain shows signs of bundling out the regular priests from her dominions. In Belgium and Holland the Catholic party is always at social war with some other party. Only in England and the United States is there any genuine all-pervading religious liberty, and even here there is much spite, intolerance, and humbug. A little less puerility and confession, a little more humanity and tolerance is wanted all round.

Christ's teachings of equality, charity, and mercy were introduced in a cruel age, when slavery was rampant, when morals were at their worst, when the *patria potestas* was tyrannical, when not only marriages but even decent unions of any sort had failed for some generations to produce adequate offspring to the State. There is nothing in Christ's simple teaching that savours of the hair-splitting doctrines—genuflections, adorations, Real Presence, incense squabbles, sacred hearts, turning to the east, and other unessential matters—about which rival "Christians" trouble their minds. Christ, in His vast sympathy for the down-trodden human race, spoke parabolically of His Father in heaven and of a future life, but nothing so definite was said (even supposing that the thoughts and the utterances were always intelligible, and have been correctly handed down to us) that we are justified in quarrelling with each other about their exact meaning. The novelty and power of the new preaching lay in its mercy, simplicity, gentleness, absence of false pride, luxury, or caste privilege; in its sympathy, patience, and good nature. These qualities have never failed to appeal successfully to the Chinese; the same lessons were introduced by early Buddhism, which was received with respect and credit until gross

abuses crept in ; and these abuses were of the same kind that provoked our Reformation.

It is not Christianity that is at fault, either in China or elsewhere ; it is the perverse nature of mankind, which twists simple teachings to ignoble ends, surrenders its free judgment to save itself from the trouble of thinking, and endeavours to impose, by tyranny and force, what ought to be left to free will and common-sense. The Rev. John Gerard wonders why Jesuits are so hated in England and Europe. There can be no possible doubt that they are better organized and disciplined than any other religious society, and that the strings of power and authority are more perfectly brought together and more thoroughly focussed than in any other instance. Men are always disposed to stand in awe of, often to fear, and consequently almost as often to hate, a power which moves with certainty and in secrecy, the machinery of which, however simple, they do not understand. In many respects the politico-religious power of the Russian Government is like the religious power of the Jesuits ; in each case the object is the same, the good of mankind ; but authority is trained up to and emanates from one apex—the obedience of those who work the machine must be absolute. In China, enormous though the Jesuit organization work is, there is little or no corresponding dread or fear. Apart from occasional ebullitions, such as Père Gaillard's, and occasional fillips, such as M. Gérard's, there is no visible concern with political matters ; the whole energies are devoted, under the public eye, to works of science, education, and charity. It is true that for various reasons nearly all missionaries are disliked in China, except so far as the patent benefit of their mundane work is concerned, such as scientific translations, gratuitous hospitals, charitable schools, and so on ; it is also true that Roman Catholic missionaries are more disliked than Protestants, because (as Père Gaillard admits) they are more exacting and intolerant. But the Jesuits are certainly the least feared and the least hated amongst the



Catholics, if not among all missionaries, probably because the machinery of discipline and power is concealed from and scarcely at all shared in by the natives, and because the Jesuits' scale of living is so humble. In other words, the Society of Jesus in China is a benevolent, self-denying despotism working amongst social inferiors, who are not curious to examine the machinery; and not amongst social equals who wish to understand everything, as in Europe; it has ample scope for action in conferring elementary mundane benefits such as there is little field for in Europe. It can teach cleanliness, order, new sciences; it can cure diseases, protect from vice and mutilation, and do many other things to arouse gratitude without touching too suddenly upon the sensitive raw of "belief." Since the Jesuits of England have thought it advisable to step forward and explain themselves, it might be good for them to compare their situation with that of their collaborators in China, and to well ponder the things herein set forth.

The following three extracts, all cut out from the *China Overland Mail* of August 17, will show readers at home how Christians squabble in China, but, at the same time, how grateful the Chinese are for real Christianity:

"Li Hung Chang has asked that a Roman Catholic priest who obtained a promissory note for a large sum from an official by menacing him with a revolver may be ordered home."

"The *N. C. Daily News* of July 31 says: 'It is reported from Hankow that about ten days ago there occurred a pitched battle between Roman Catholic Chinese converts and those of the Protestant faith at Hangchuan, a district of Hupeh province, where there are said to be several thousand converts belonging to one or the other faith. Several lives were lost on this occasion, and the high provincial authorities at Wuchang consider the affair grave enough to instruct the provincial judge, Li, and Tsên Taotai, of Hankow, to make personal investigations into it. It is also stated that disputes and minor fights often

happened between the converts of the rival faiths previous to the pitched battle referred to above, but so far there had been no loss of life. Non-converts in Hupeh are said to be anxiously awaiting the issue of this case.'"

"To the credit of the Chinese, whom Dr. Kerr" [an "Anglo-Saxon" Protestant] "has served with rare skill and devotion for nearly half a century, be it said that the news of the death of their great benefactor has caused widespread regret among rich and poor. The people in the neighbourhood are greatly disappointed that no opportunity was given them of showing their profound respect. Hundreds of Chinese visited Dr. Kerr's grave on Sunday, and I am informed by an eye-witness that it was very touching to see the way in which they manifested their grief and gratitude at the memory of the departed."

## JAPANESE MONOGRAPHS.

BY CHARLOTTE M. SALWEY, M.J.S.

## VIII.—TANABATA-NO-SEKKU. FESTIVAL OF THE WEAVING PRINCESS.

THIS festival differs from the other great festivals of the Japanese calendar. In the first place, its origin is legendary, and it is associated with the heavenly sphere and its luminaries. It is also allegorical, exemplifying the devotion of two faithful hearts in the existence of the stars Capricornus and Alpha Lyra. It holds up as a symbolic lesson filial obedience under the most trying circumstances—the ruling tenet of Japan's ancient religious system. We find a good deal about heaven, or rather the heavens, in Japanese literature; there are imaginary beings of several classes, such as dragons and animals, who inhabit the celestial regions. The teaching of Buddha entertains the idea of angels and saints. The good and brave are sent heavenward, through the medium of clouds or storms, as a reward at the end of their lives for virtues displayed during the term of their earthly probation. The sun, the moon, and the constellations have supplied many a theme and suggestion to the poets of the Far East.

The legend of the Feast of Tanabata runs thus:\* Shokujō, the Weaving Princess, was the daughter of the Sun-King, and, like all good maidens, lived in her father's home under his guardianship. His dwelling was on the banks of the Silent River of Heaven, which is the Milky Way, or River of Stars. Shokujō was beautiful beyond compare; she was, moreover, obedient, graceful, tender, and womanly. In disposition she was unlike the other daughters of the air, for a grave quietness was always upon her which could never be dispelled. Caring but little for

\* This legend is beautifully described in full in F. Rinder's "Old-World Japan." It is also to be found in the translations and collections of old-world stories by earlier authors.

any kind of pleasure, her time was spent in spinning and weaving garments of fine materials for others. Her mind was entirely absorbed in her occupation, and her manner *triste* with the responsibility and manipulation of her loom. Her father grieved that she differed so much from her companions. He silently watched with fears in his heart the roundness of form and face settling into maturer lines, under the strain of her daily self-imposed tasks, and the anxiety she endured to bring her work to a successful issue.

At length the Sun-King decided to find a suitable help-mate for the Princess, and the youth of his choice was Kingen, the herdsman who tended his flock on the margin of the Heavenly Stream. This seemed a most reasonable alliance, for while the Sun-King provided for Shokujō's happiness, he could still keep her within sight and under his control. So the star-lovers, Capricornus and Alpha Lyra, otherwise Shokujō and Kingen, were betrothed and wedded. Great was the joy in the starry regions over such a happy and suitable union, which bade fair to prove successful. But in a short time Shokujō entirely altered in disposition. She cast all care aside, neglected her loom, and became the most thoughtless and merriest of matrons. The manly adoration that fell to her lot dazzled and blinded her eyes to aught else by which she was surrounded, and she lived as one who had been suddenly brought out of shadows into a brightly illuminated world. Again the Sun-King grieved; he had not foreseen that his move for her happiness would cause her to become so utterly regardless of her former work, as well as the graver duties of life, expected to be fulfilled by Japanese ladies of all degrees. He disapproved of her callous mirth; he ruminated and pondered how best to arrest this state of things before it was too late. His mood changed to righteous anger. Then he resolved that since his son-in-law had brought it all about, he would banish him again to the other side of the Silent Stream, and henceforth they should only meet once a year, on the seventh day of the seventh month.

In this delectable land of sunshine, stars, and flowers, the romance of love runs high. Love had been awakened in Shokujō's heart in the early springtime of her life by the passionate devotion of the herdsman; she had drunk deeply of the first sweet draught of a new experience, of which she had never dreamed through her lonely hours with her loom and her weaving. But, alas! her joy was to be as transient as all other beautiful things of earth. It found its symbol in the fugitive sunrise in Fuji-san, in the sunset on the tremulous waves of the Biwa lake, in the pearly petals of the Sakura blossoms, doomed to pass away too swiftly.

The Princess obeyed without a murmur, like all true Japanese princesses, the decree of her noble father, and bowed her head before him in meek submission. The Sun-King, acknowledging her wisdom, called a flock of magpies together, and bade them insinuate and interlace their wings into a substantial bridge, over which Kingen was to pass with his cattle to the other side of the Milky Way. As the feet of the banished man touched the opposite bank the bird-bridge broke up, and the magpies dispersed, noisily chattering, to attend again to their families and their own affairs.

Sorrowfully the lovers parted, with vows of fidelity to each other. Again they pursued their different vocations, Kingen tending his herds, and Shokujō working at her loom, though with slower and more deliberate attention. As the days went by, she learnt to draw "sweet uses from adversity," and found her occupation wholesome discipline, since it diverted her mind from melancholy thoughts. At eventide she would lay aside the shuttle, and linger pensively on the banks of the Heavenly Stream, while the keen night air swept over the scintillating myriad worlds that lay between his home and hers, while the heavens seemed to throb and glow, as a furnace fire will throb, under the influence of fluctuating atmospheres, until the very "starlight mingling with the stars" faded but to

flame again. Shokujō knew her lover husband was likewise watching, and by the power of love and the swiftness of light, unworded messages, and tender yearnings, were conveyed across the radiant river.

Over Eastern lands the Milky Way burns brighter, flows clearer, and shines denser than through the encumbered atmosphere of our mercantile country.

The eve of the seventh day of the seventh month is a time of rejoicing for the people of Japan. Children, as well as those of maturer years, look forward to the anniversary. Boys capture spiders and confine them in boxes; they believe that if the webs are geometrically made, it foretells that fine weather will crown the fête, which is, as we shall presently see, an event of the utmost importance. Not alone do the star-lovers long for its arrival, because it will bring them the nearest wish of their hearts, but everyone else who cares to do so may, on the eve of the Feast of Tanabata, wish some great wish for themselves or for others, which they may reasonably expect to see fulfilled in the course of the coming year. Tanabata may also for this cause be named the festival of great expectations. These Orientals derive much pleasure in wishing each other at least earthly blessing and good fortune on every possible occasion. At this, as well as on all other festivals, special food and flowers are provided. Rice-cakes, saké, luscious fruits, and tempting little dishes are conspicuous. offered as usual, first upon the sambō, and afterwards partaken of by members of the household. The flowers used are seven in number, arranged according to the etiquette of floral decoration; they are placed in three vases. In the mystic distribution of these there lies a hidden, sacred, symbolic teaching. The stems of the flowers are tied together, before being placed in the water, with a silk cord of five different colours. This cord is called negai-no-ito, the cord of prayer.

On this occasion branches of bamboo are decorated by the juvenile members of the household with coloured ribbons, tinkling bells, and symbols of world-wide wishes

of good fortune. Strips of paper are also fastened on the branch, bearing poems and pretty little quotations or speeches of their own. These are distributed among the family circle. A carefully-written sentence carries much weight, and encourages the art of calligraphy, which is often carefully studied during the year for the express purpose of displaying progress, and training at home and at school. A neatly-turned poem expressing goodwill and kindly feeling receives its customary commendation. When the festival is over and the bamboo branches shorn of their burden, they are exposed to view for a short time upon the housetops or in the gardens, and are finally cast into a river, a popular belief existing that, aided by the tides, they flow towards a distant goal, to be gathered in by the ladies of the Celestial regions.

Mothers will sit up until midnight waiting patiently for the hour when they may offer up a prayer, or breathe a wish for some good and fortuitous event to crown their child's or children's success in the course of the thirteen moons. Only *one* wish may be asked at one time; and for this reason no doubt, the feast of traditional Tanabata has been sustained in perpetual remembrance.

There is only one reservation which may mar this day of hope. Alas! if it should rain, the meeting of the star-lovers could not be accomplished; for tradition has established the belief that the River of Heaven, always full, would overflow and sweep the bridge of birds away, and this bridge is the only means sanctioned by the Sun-King for conveying the Weaving Princess into the presence of her faithful spouse. Unless *they* meet, ordinary mortals must not expect an answer to their prayers.

The legend of such love endures, finding its reflex in the ever-changing phalanx of youthful life beneath the starry tide, and human hearts still beat and throb for each other in unending harmonies,

" Beneath that arch whose fires  
Burn on through storm and daylight unperceived,  
Apt emblems of true love that never tires."

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting held at the Westminster Town Hall, on Monday, June 24, 1901, a paper was read by S. S. Thorburn, Esq., I.C.S., retired, entitled: "Agricola Redivivus," the Right Hon. Leonard H. Courtney, P.C., in the chair. The following, among others, were present: Right Hon. Lord Reay, G.G.S.I., LL.D., Right Hon. Lord Stanley of Alderley, Sir Roland K. Wilson, Bart., Sir James Lyall, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., Sir M. M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., M.P., Sir John Jardine, K.C.I.E., Sir Charles Stevens, Colonel A. T. Frazer, Major and Mrs. Dunlop Smith, Surgeon-General Harvey, Mr. Romesh C. Dutt, C.I.E., Mr. J. D. Rees, C.I.E., Professor Murison, Mr. W. S. Caine, M.P., Dr. Sarat Mullick, Mrs. and Miss Arathoon, Mr. F. R. Bomanji, Mr. F. C. Channing, Mr. C. E. Chapman, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. Eshwar Das, Mr. T. R. Fernandez, Mr. Frazer, Mrs. Glass, Mr. Godley, Mr. G. Hewart, Mr. J. R. Khosla, Mr. J. L. Lobley, Mr. S. C. Mukerjee, Mr. Shavunot Patker, Mr. and Mrs. F. Pennington, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. F. Loraine Petre, Mr. Lesley C. Probyn, Mr. Krishna Rao, Mr. Alexander Rogers, Miss A. A. Smith, Mr. G. S. L. Smith, Mr. W. P. D. Stebbing, Mr. K. S. Suri, Mr. Vishveineath, P. Vaider, Mr. N. B. Wagle, Mr. Vaughan Wash, Mr. C. W. Whish, Mr. W. Martin Wood, Mr. H. W. Wolff, Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN, in introducing the lecturer, said the paper was on one of the most difficult and debatable of the practical questions of the day in connection with the Government of India, as to the expediency of interfering with what might be called the relations of free contract in respect to the agricultural peasant occupier of Indian land. In one way or another many steps had been taken, not quite consistent with the notions which had prevailed in this country, modifying the position of the ryot occupier as a free owner of land, especially in the Panjab. There had been quite recently passed an Act materially affecting the power of the ryot occupier. Mr. Thorburn would speak upon it with an authority altogether peculiar to himself. He was for many years the Financial Commissioner of the Panjab. He had the most intimate personal experience, and the most direct and hearty sympathy with the conditions of the people who were affected by the legislation referred to. Besides the authority which he thus had from his knowledge of the subject, he had the peculiar authority of being able to boast that he had been successful in a prolonged controversy, because the legislation referred to might be said to be due to him. It was carried in the teeth of the opinions formerly prevailing amongst the great mass of the Anglo-Indian community, carried largely through his (Mr. Thorburn's) influence, supported very heartily by the present Viceroy. It did not necessarily follow that he was right. To say that would be to prejudge the discussion which he hoped would follow. It had often been said "hard cases made bad law," and it had often happened that under



the influence of the pressure of some particular crisis, or some situation apparently demanding interference, legislation had been promoted which the more serious consideration of after-years condemned. Such legislation had sometimes been nugatory, and had passed away without any effect, and in some cases had produced effects directly contrary to those that were intended by the persons who promoted it. He was not going to anticipate what would be the opinion of the meeting on the land legislation of the Panjab on which Mr. Thorburn was going to speak, but he would explain his views, he would justify the action, he would support the Act which the Viceroy had recommended, and which had been passed by the Legislative Council of India. At the conclusion of the paper he hoped to hear the opinion of many present, who would, no doubt, be better qualified to speak on the subject than he was.

The paper was then read.\*

SIR JAMES LYALL said that when in India in 1898 he had been informally consulted about the measure in question, and though it went much further than anything he ever proposed to the Government of India, yet he gave his humble opinion that it ought to be tried as an experiment. What the result would be, he thought it was very difficult to say. He feared it would probably have the result of confiscating a good deal of money owed by the peasant proprietors to money-lenders, and that it would not in the long-run save a great many of the poorer and weaker of the peasant proprietors from losing their lands. But he believed it would have the effect of diverting these poor people's lands from the hands of the money-lender into the hands of the stronger men among their tribesmen. That, on the whole, he thought would be a better thing for the country and for the Government. For six years he had worked on the Panjab frontier with Mr. Thorburn, and always very much admired the disinterested enthusiasm with which he took up the case of the peasant proprietors. He thought, however, that his enthusiasm sometimes made him a little like a partisan; and that criticism, he thought, to a certain extent applicable to Mr. Thorburn's very interesting paper. Of course in dealing in a brief lecture with a big subject, it must be sketched broadly, with a violent contrast of colours to make it effective. In the paper he thought that had been carried to an extent which was a little misleading. For instance, anyone hearing the paper read would, perhaps, go away with the idea that in the early years of the Administration the purblind bureaucrats who were at the head of the Panjab Administration had failed entirely to foresee that the rights and status of the peasant proprietors would be endangered by the civilized system of administration, which was introduced. That, he thought, was absolutely the reverse of the true state of the case. The three leading men who together framed the form in which the Administration began were Lord Lawrence, Sir Robert Montgomery, and Sir Donald McLeod, all eminently men who had lived among the people and understood them. The declared keynote of their policy was to try to maintain the status of the village communities. As an instance, he might mention that very early in that time they took

\* See our last issue (July), pp. 52-78.

the very exceptional measure of making it a rule that the Civil Courts should not be able to sell land in execution of a decree without the sanction of the highest revenue authority, which was very rarely to be granted. In the end, however, the measures they took proved to be not altogether effectual, and we now, therefore, had to try other measures. In his opinion, the root of the difficulty was the limitation of the Government demand. When the Government demand was reduced, as it was right that it should be reduced, from nearly the full rent to something less than half, the ownership of the land was immediately turned into a valuable property; it became then inevitable that a struggle should ensue, and that, unless prevented in some extraordinary way, the land would gradually pass from the hands of the more or less illiterate peasants into the hands of the very astute and thrifty capitalist class. He looked upon the present measure as a great experiment, the result of which nobody could exactly foresee.

SIR CHARLES STEVENS said that so far as the paper contained an account of the lecturer's own struggles and enthusiastic attempts, it was most interesting and instructive; but if it were to be considered as a suggestion for extending to the whole of India the experiment which was being made in the Panjab, he ventured to think it ought to receive the "anxious consideration" which the lecturer seemed to regard as inappropriate to matters of this important and complex nature. He, as the Land Revenue Member of the Bengal Board of Revenue, had had to study the digest mentioned by the lecturer, and to report upon this question to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. It had thus been necessary for him to investigate, as far as was possible, the needs of the different districts of Bengal; and the general conclusion that he drew from the statistics and reports of local officers was that such a measure was not needed for Bengal. This view was adopted by the Government of Bengal. In the extreme north-west corner of Bengal there was a tract in which, apparently, the cultivators were to some extent losing the control over their lands, but it must be remembered that there land was more easily to be got than elsewhere. Sir Charles Stevens quite recognised that in some conditions such restrictions as the lecturer desired might be right and wise. He himself had had to supervise the recent settlement of the Singbhúm District, and believing that the primitive inhabitants were not in a fit condition to contend on equal terms with the Bengal usurers, their neighbours, he had suggested that there alienations to outsiders should not be allowed without permission of the Deputy-Commissioner. But in that district they had almost a *tabula rasa* to deal with. The inhabitants had been so recently civilized that complicated rights had not had time to grow up. Alienations were beginning, and it was thought right to restrict them, since the cultivators were not as yet able to deal on equal terms with outsiders. In the discussions on the question Sir Charles Stevens had advised that power should be given to the Courts to go behind contracts, and this provision seemed to him to meet most, if not all, the difficulties that would occur in Bengal. The speaker had not come prepared for a detailed discussion of the subject; he had merely made these remarks with a view of showing that the

application of the new Panjab law, or anything like it, to the whole of India was not a simple matter.\*

SIR JOHN JARDINE congratulated the meeting that in Mr. Thorburn they had one of those men who did what they could to make our too regular mathematical system of government palatable to the ignorant classes of India. Although the time had not yet come to dogmatize, Mr. Thorburn had convinced the Supreme Government that the measure he proposed, was an improvement. Mr. Thorburn had already got more done to remedy the system he attacked than such able men as Sir James Caird or Mr. Channing had yet effected here. The new Panjab Legislation followed what was done in the Presidency of Bombay soon after the peasant farmers rose against the capitalist money-lenders, and destroyed the money-lender's account-books, so as to destroy his means of proving his debts. That brought on the Deccan Relief Act, which had stood some of the tests of time; and it had been proved that the power that the Legislature gave to the Courts of going behind the contract had resulted in benefit to the whole country. That Act showed that in the revenue settlement system there was room for improvement. The question as to indebtedness began a good time ago. The Government soon after 1833 determined on having a survey to fix judicial rents. That system had gone on well until the disturbances in the Deccan began. He thought he heard a little undertone in Mr. Thorburn's paper of censure of the Courts of Justice as responsible for the evictions and the political danger. The law under which the peasant farmers of Bombay were sold up was passed by the executive Government. Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone would not let the Courts interpret his code for some years, but kept the interpretation in his own hands. Under that very system the Courts were justified in doing what rightly enough was now thought to be too great a use of judicial force. It was not generally known that it was not until the High Courts were established in the year 1862 that equity of redemption was introduced into the Mofussil of Bombay. That equity of redemption is as old as the Roman Law, and is the great protection of poor land-owners. Yet it was denied to the Deccan until the High Courts and barrister judges came. After a while it was found out that evictions were what the farmers of the Bombay Survey had foreseen, and intended, as is proved by the famous Joint Report. The country was suffering from want of capital. It was argued, It will be a good thing to get rid of these poor ryots, who have not enough capital, and somehow or other their land will pass into the hands of capitalists, who will be able to improve the land. In the course of a generation this policy had been completely forgotten by the revenue officers who were working the system, and they turned round on the Courts as if the result, foreseen and acquiesced in by the executive, had been caused by the judges. Two points he would notice in Mr.

\* Sir Charles Stevens writes: "I observe that Mr. Thorburn speaks of having published an account of the whole case in a small book called "Musalmans and Money-lenders." This title of itself shows that the Panjab problem is not that of Bengal, for the districts in which Mussulmans predominate are precisely those in which the cultivators are best able to take care of themselves."

Thorburn's paper. First, that any considerable debt had been in most cases incurred after a bad harvest to pay the land revenue, or to buy food and seed grain, or plough cattle ; and next, that ordinarily a grain debt was doubled within two years, and a money debt within three. Such facts justified Sir William Wedderburn in pressing on the Government that there should be a good grant of money given to the ryots in times of famine. Mr. Thorburn had not mentioned the expensive marriage-feasts and other extravagance as the cause of the indebtedness of the ryots. Then they came to the gift of freehold right to the peasants. The Legislation giving them not only fair rent, but also hereditary right, and the power of sale. He thought Sir B. Frere's law had worked well, although one would like to know how much of the benefit had been frustrated by the injurious action of the money-lenders. They were not capitalists that came in to farm the land, but rather absentee men, who let others work it as tenants at will. A great thing in Indian Administration was not to be too ready to upset systems. There were ways of improving the action of the Courts, and that depended on the executive which made the laws. The recent laws passed by the Government of India, mitigating the power of the County Court to seize lands or tools, were probably in the right direction. In the year 1825 Bishop Heber marched through the collectorate of Kaira, and with the Collector discussed these great questions, as you see in his journal. They talked of how the people had been sold up by means of decrees, and they thought that it almost amounted to a political danger. If that was so, why was it allowed to go on for so many years ? The East India Company was anxious to be just and moderate ; it wanted good government ; but its servants had only just been changed from being commercial agents, and had only lately got into the dignified positions they occupied now. They were not trained students of Adam Smith, nor men able to think out the whole system of land tenure. But they tried one system after another with much perseverance, as you will see if you put down Heber and take up Mr. Alexander Rogers' revenue history of Kaira, which illustrates the extreme difficulty of the task, and the risk of introducing evils of another sort, on which points Sir James Lyall and Sir Charles Stevens have spoken after long experience and study.

MR. ROMESH DUTT said that Mr. Thorburn had at the outset of his paper spoken of the village communities in the Panjab as owning property jointly. That institution was found in working order in most parts of India up to the beginning of the nineteenth century. In Northern India, in Bombay, and in Madras, most of the lands were held by these village communities, and individual ryots had their shares under the supervision of those village communities. He was old-fashioned enough to look back with regret to this old institution, which was peculiarly suited to the genius and instincts of the Indian population, and which had lasted for, he might say, thousands of years. It was really the first form of self-government in any part of the world. They had lost it, and it had not been replaced by any other form of village self-government. Mr. Thorburn had made a mistake when he said that the right of alienating land was a gift of the British Government. He did not think there was ever a time

when a settled cultivator was not able to part with his property for a consideration when he desired to do so. What the British Government did was to legalize this old customary right. With regard to the great question of the right of alienating land raised by Mr. Thorburn, it had not been raised that day for the first time. It had been discussed very carefully in Bengal, twice within the last twenty years. It had been discussed in Bengal in 1883, when they had before them the Bengal Tenancy Bill, which was passed into law in 1885. The same plea was then urged: that it was in the interests of the ryots themselves that the right of mortgaging and alienating their holdings, which they and their fathers had enjoyed for generations, should be taken away from them. He himself, as a district officer in one of the eastern districts of Bengal, had found that hundreds of transfers were registered every month, and that the lands were not passing away from the hands of the cultivating classes, that the cultivators had not been made slaves of the money-lenders. Sir Anthony Macdonnell, the then Revenue Secretary, supported the view that it was not by converting the cultivator into a life tenant that his position could be improved. In the result Bengal was saved from the universal confiscation which was then contemplated. It was thought the danger had passed, but again in 1895 and 1896 the question was raised in the Panjab. They were asked to report whether it was not absolutely necessary to deprive the ten million families of cultivators in Bengal of the right which they had exercised for years, and which their fathers and grandfathers had enjoyed before. On this they were taken aback, and they objected entirely to the ryots being deprived of this right. He was himself then in charge of Orissa, where, if anywhere, the cultivators required help against the money-lenders; but he was able to show that in Orissa the cultivators had exercised this right for sixty or seventy years, and that the land had not passed out of their possession. The result was that the proposal was again rejected, and he then thought rejected for ever; but only the last week he had seen that a Bill had been brought before the Bombay Council in which it was proposed to create a new class of tenants without the right of transferring their property. He would say on broad economical grounds that any attempt to improve the condition of the cultivators of India by depriving them of their rights and lowering the marketable value of their lands must end in failure. It might be necessary in certain districts for political reasons, but to extend the Act to all parts of India could not improve the condition of the cultivators. There was some misapprehension as to the cultivators of India. They were supposed to be like children, and to be unable to judge of their own interests. He admitted that in nine cases out of ten they were ignorant and superstitious, but nevertheless they were keenly alive to their own interests, and able to defend them. What was wanted was a moderate assessment, clear rent laws which they understood, and clear rights which they were able to defend. Without committing himself to any remark as regarded the Panjab Act, he ventured to say that the extension of the Act to the rest of India would be a great misfortune to the whole population.

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY thought the pith of the paper was in the

last page, where the lecturer spoke of a measure of elasticity being gradually introduced on the revenue side, and went on to say that it would not be effective unless during drought periods the whole or part of the demand were almost automatically suspended, or remitted, and State aid granted for the purchase of seed, grain, or plough cattle. He would have had more confidence in the Indian Government if, instead of superannuating Mr. Thorburn, or desiring him to return to England, they had retained him in Calcutta or Simla during the passage of the Bill, for the purpose of consulting him. In that case they would have avoided one defect which he pointed out, which was that the Bill as it was did not allow alienation for more than fifteen years, which had been extended to twenty years. He had read somewhere statistical and physical reasons why fifteen years should be the limit dependent on the average life of the Indian cultivator, and it would have been better to have stopped at that. Agricultural banks will not be much better for the peasant than the money-lender if he is still obliged to borrow to pay his taxes, perhaps rather worse, since he may hope to burn the sowkar's mortgages, but the proofs of his indebtedness will be secure in the banks. He thought it should be the object of the Association to aim at securing that which the British Government had once promised—namely, a permanent settlement for the whole of India.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN would, at the desire of Mr. Thornton, the late Secretary to the Panjab Government, read a passage from a letter from Mr. Thornton, published in the *Times* last October. Speaking of the Bill in question, he said: "If the measure had been unanimously carried, it would have been presumptuous of me to question its necessity; but as it is disapproved of by the Head of the Local Government, and by a singularly well-informed native member of the Council, I may be pardoned, perhaps, for questioning its wisdom. I question it, not because I do not sympathize with the object aimed at, but because I believe, with some knowledge of the subject, that the remedy is worse than the disease. Minimize, by all means, the peasant's need for money-lenders' aid—that is, by moderate assessments, prompt relief in abnormal seasons, establishing markets for sale of produce, simplifying the cumbrous rules regulating advances for agricultural improvements, promoting the establishment of agricultural banks, discouraging rash expenditure on marriages, and protecting the peasant borrower from fraud by placing the money-lender under license and regulation, as is now the case in England—but do not damage the credit of the entire peasant population by placing further restrictions on the sale, not merely of ancestral lands, but of lands acquired and brought into cultivation by their own industry. Currency legislation has already seriously reduced the value of the peasants' silver ornaments. If the value of their lands is to be reduced as well, then the most prudent among them will find it difficult to tide over bad times, while the difficulty of obtaining loans will stimulate their propensity to hoard rupees instead of spending them productively in well-sinking and extending cultivation." He (Sir Lepel) would suggest to Mr. Dutt, whom they had heard with so much pleasure, that the question of a province like the Panjab must be considered from a special point of view. It was the home of the most

important part of the present native army, and whatever capitalist claims might be, it was primarily essential to maintain intact the goodwill and loyalty of the Sikh and Muhammadan population. While he shared Sir James Lyall's doubt as to the complete success of the experiment, he would rejoice to see the Sikh peasantry placed in a position in which they could retain their lands, whether ancestral or otherwise, and he thought the measure might add very largely to the strength of the Panjab peasantry and the security of British rule in the East. He therefore wished it all success.

MR. J. D. REES wished to deprecate on behalf of the Madras Presidency the passing of any such Act as the Panjab Land Alienation Act. It was a valuable experiment in the Panjab, and would be a disastrous interference with private rights in property in Madras. Mr. Thorburn had referred to the courts being now empowered to vary contracts. He was on the Viceroy's Council when an effort was made, by a side-wind, to introduce the substance of the Panjab Act into the whole of India by an amendment of the Contract Act. It was said that A, the poor agriculturist, could not compete with B, the rich money-lender; but that, he then contended, was prejudging the case, and he showed that in the Madras Presidency the ryot was well able to protect himself, that he was not overwhelmingly in debt, and that it was altogether wrong to alter a law applying to all contracts throughout India upon experience gained in respect of the Panjab ryot. He agreed with Mr. Dutt that the ryot did not in Bengal and Madras require further protection—at any rate, not of this character—and if such legislation was necessary for the peasantry in the Panjab, he was unwilling to stretch all the natives of India on the bed of the Panjabi Procrustes. The circumstances were absolutely dissimilar. He was surprised to hear Sir John Jardine refer to the success of the Deccan Ryots Act. It seemed to him that this success was extremely problematical, and that a Government Commission had reported to this effect. Mr. Thorburn throughout assumed that a great success had been scored, but Sir James Lyall put the matter on a right footing. It was a great experiment, and he (Mr. Rees) deprecated any assumption that such an experiment could properly be extended to other parts of India. Mr. Thorburn incidentally referred to the fact that the British Government had reduced the land assessment in the Panjab from one-half to one quarter, and Sir James Lyall showed that it was the British Government which created a property for the ryots, of which property the money-lender could catch hold. He expected Mr. Dutt to get up and say it was a mistake to take it for granted that the British Government had reduced the assessment, but he had not done so. He (Mr. Rees) had tried to get Mr. Dutt to explain his position on the platform and in the press, so far without success. The fact was, the British Government had reduced the assessment about 7 per cent. of the gross on an average for the whole of India. He wished to challenge a statement quoted by Mr. Thorburn from the Report of the Famine Commission of 1874, to the effect that the circumstances of one province as regards indebtedness did not differ materially from those of another. Nothing could be more erroneous, and he could quote numerous authorities to the contrary, if other speakers had not taken up all the time Mr.

Thorburn had purposely left for discussion by persons present representing different interests. It did not follow that the longest speaker was the best authority. He would also point out to Mr. Dutt that when he eloquently defended the private property of the ryots from such an assault as was delivered by the Panjab Alienation Bill he admitted that they had property. He agreed, however, with Mr. Dutt that the peasants were not children, but were extremely well able to take care of themselves. Mr. Thorburn had said that our system benefited the trading classes at the expense of the masses. It was worth while inquiring whether the condition of the producer in India is improving, *pari passu*, with that of the alien merchant and his dependents. At the close of his paper Mr. Thorburn had asked why was the Panjab selected as the field for this experiment. The answer was that there the problem was the most serious. True, but he would point out another reason, and that was that the Government of India sat at Simla for half the year, and the Panjab officials were largely represented in its Councils; in fact, the Panjab official was like the favourite wife, of whom Mr. Dutt had spoken, though of late the telegraph had whispered of conjugal differences, which might possibly lead to an amicable separation. There were many able officers in the Panjab, and those who favoured this experiment were not to be judged to be in error because similar treatment was not required in other provinces. Whatever the result of the experiment, to make it was bold, statesmanlike, as it was impossible to decide whether such legislation could be successful without an actual trial.

The CHAIRMAN said that the experience of the afternoon had shown the truth of the statement which he had made at the outset, that it was a most debatable question. He approached the matter with all humility and doubt. One observation he would like to submit to them was whether the phenomenon which they saw almost all over the world, of the agriculturist in debt and struggling with difficulties, was not a phenomenon which must exist from the nature of things. It was not confined to India. Was there anything which could explain that widely observed fact? It appeared to him that there was. The agriculturist was the oldest of our workers; he was subject to the perpetual discovery of new lands and new processes, and without some special effort the man who simply stuck to old ways must go under and be replaced by others. Subject to this general observation, which makes one think that there are difficulties which would survive all legislative attempts to counteract them, and looking at India itself, the outsider constantly asked himself the question whether the change from the old system to the English system had been one which pressed the ryot more or less severely. He was glad to think that the rental exacted by the British Administration was much less than was formerly the case. It was, however, drawn with very little accommodation to the varying circumstances of successive seasons. He would be very sorry to accept the very dismal suggestion of Sir James Lyall, that because by exacting a less revenue from the peasant he obtained a property which he had not before, he was thereby put in the path of ruin. If there were any difficulty arising from fixed rents and varying crops, it might well be



met by some process of banking, if not by a State organization, by which accommodation might be rendered on less onerous terms than at present. He agreed with many speakers that it would be unwise to apply the same principles throughout India, but it might be that in some parts of India the population were not yet ripe for the adoption in full of the principle of free contract. There were races to which free contract appeared to be like fire-water, which they enjoyed to their own destruction. It might be essential, if not to prohibit, at least to limit the principles of free contract in some parts of British India. He looked upon the whole matter with great doubt, and with a feeling of the necessity of watching very carefully legislation that might be promoted from time to time, which might prove productive of something quite the reverse of what its authors intended. They must watch for long periods. He doubted whether yet anybody was able to say whether the Deccan Ryots Act was a failure or success. The experience of twenty-five years was not sufficient. He would now ask Mr. Thorburn, to whom he desired to convey the thanks of the meeting for his paper, to reply to the observations which had been made.

MR. THORBURN, in reply, said destructive criticism was always easy ; if the limitation of credit and restricting the freedom of alienation of land was wrong, the question remained, what should be proposed as a substitute? No one had suggested an alternative. The various speeches which had been made, disclosing as they did conflicting opinions on facts and remedies, showed that Sir William Wedderburn's movement for a National Union, with a view to induce the Government of India to have local inquiries, such as those which preceded the Deccan Ryots Act and the new Panjab Act, was very necessary. Mr. Rees repudiated the Panjab Act as a basis for legislation in Madras. Well, up north they had always looked upon Madras as the benighted Presidency, and it did not much matter what was done in Madras. He doubted the peasantry being prosperous there. Were not the Moplahs expropriated land-owners, and did they not cause the Government a good deal of trouble? He was accused of assuming the success of the Panjab measure, but he did mean to assume it ; he regarded the new departure as a large instalment in a series of constructive measures. The whole Civil Justice system of India required reconstruction in the interests of the masses, the agriculturists. At present almost all the economic legislation of India was devised on the supposition that the masses of India were educated and business-minded people, whereas the contrary was the case. With reference to what Sir James Lyall had said in regard to the strong colour of the paper which he had read, it must be remembered that the discussion had been going on, for many years, and that he had to compress into 5,000 or 6,000 words a literature bulking as large as the "Encyclopedia Britannica." He was accused of being a partisan. No one with convictions could avoid taking a side. The early Lieutenant-Governors of the Panjab had, doubtless, foreseen the consequences of our system of administration. His complaint was that they did nothing to counteract the evils created by that system. They sat on the fence, looked on and propounded platitudes. Local Governments very seldom initiated measures ; that was left to the

Supreme Governments. He remembered the time when the legislative mill poured out something like thirty Acts in one year. The Chairman remarked upon Sir James Lyall's dismal suggestion, that the root of the evil was the limitation of the land-revenue demand—in other words, the gift of ownership and creation of marketable credit. It was a fact that the Government of India took about 30,000,000 sterling in land revenue. If the whole of that money were surrendered, it would in twenty years all go into the pockets of the money-lenders, and there must be a remedy found for that. Sir Charles Stevens had spoken for Bengal, and said a measure like this was not needed there. Very little was known about Lower Bengal, but he believed he was correct in saying that more than a hundred years ago the rights of the cultivators in Bengal were given away by Lord Cornwallis, the English landlord Viceroy, who made what is known as the permanent settlement. Sir Charles Stevens had also said he thought judges should be empowered to go behind the contract. An enabling measure of the sort had, he believed, been recently passed for the whole of India. Sir John Jardine said that the time had not come to dogmatize upon the new Act, and he agreed. It was not in some respects as far advanced as the Deccan Ryots Act, because it was only prospective. It did not affect, for instance, existing mortgages. He was charged with "pitching into" the Courts. It was the law they administered, not the judges, he "pitched into." He knew something about judges. One judge of the Chief Court of Lahore told him that in three cases out of four he had to pass a decision which was contrary to his view of equity and common-sense. Another judge told him that when certain pleaders, who were rather long-winded, appeared before him, he invariably put on blue glasses and went to sleep until the learned counsel had finished addressing the Court. A divisional judge, who later sat in the Chief Court, told him he often came into Court with his judgment written out beforehand, and afterwards heard the arguments of the pleaders. All that showed that the law was too fine and expensive for the masses. Sir John Jardine had remarked about the extreme difficulty of any new legislation for the benefit of the agriculturist. Everything new appeared difficult, but the solution, when effected, always resolved itself into something perfectly simple. Mr. Romesh Dutt said that ownership was not a gift of the British Government in the parts of India which he knew. He meant, probably, individual ownership. As a fact, before our time the Government of the day invariably took as much of the produce, whether calling it rent or revenue, as they dared to take. He would like to know what use ownership would be to a cultivator when a stronger than he came and took away two-thirds of his crop. He did not think that before British rule there was much value in land at all, even assuming that there was such a thing as individual ownership. Mr. Dutt had also spoken of Orissa. He believed that in 1856 the Sontals of Orissa rose in insurrection because of the money-lenders, and began to march on Calcutta, and that they were only appeased by special legislation, which rescued them from the jurisdiction of the ordinary Civil Courts. He quite thought, with Lord Stanley of Alderley, that fifteen years would be better than twenty as the period for

which free alienations should be allowed, and that remissions in famine times should be granted as of right, and not as a matter of grace.

On the motion of SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN, a vote of thanks to Mr. Leonard Courtney, for his kindness in taking the chair, was carried by acclamation, and the proceedings terminated.

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Mr. Pennington and Sir Roland K. Wilson, who were unable to address the meeting owing to the lateness of the hour, wrote as follows :

I agree with Mr. Rees\* that the new Act should not be extended to Madras without very much more evidence than we seem to have at present. As long as a ryot has any interest (property) in land, however limited, he must be allowed to dispose of it freely, or it is practically confiscated, as Mr. Dutt said, and the "ryot-proprietor," as he has always been considered in Madras, is reduced to the position of a life-tenant with no tenant-right. How can such a ryot be properly described as the "peasant-proprietor" Mr. Thorburn speaks of on p. 26? What right have we to destroy the hereditary character of a ryot's holding? Mr. Thorburn should study Sir Thomas Munro.

I entirely agree with him, however, as to the absolute necessity of suspending collections locally in face of a famine, and regret the extreme rigour with which it is customary now to insist on collecting the revenue to the last farthing, and to allow no discretion to the local officers; but I think he goes too far in his denunciation of our Courts of Justice. "Our system" both in India and in England is to do justice to the best of our ability, and on the whole I believe we succeed in most cases, though it is perfectly true that in every country the poor are at a great disadvantage in every Court, Revenue as well as Civil.

J. B. PENNINGTON.

Had time permitted, I should have ventured, as an outside spectator of the battle of experts, to call attention to a rather singular discrepancy between the author of the new legislation and its principal defender at the meeting. Sir Lepel Griffin welcomed the Panjab Alienation Bill as a protection (against their own folly) to both Sikhs and Muhammadans, and dwelt more particularly on the importance of the former as supports to our rule. But Mr. Thorburn had expressly told us in his paper† that the Sikhs were quite able to take care of themselves; resembling the Germans in character, brave as Rustam, but also acquisitive as Bunniahs, astute, and so forth.

Even if we grant, with the Chairman, that there may be races or classes to whom free contract would be as dangerous a gift as "fire-water" to a Red Indian, and even if we accept unreservedly the lecturer's testimony that the Muhammadan peasantry of the Western Panjab are such a class, it still appears, on his own showing, that the measure promoted by him went far beyond the necessities of the case, and degrades to the category of children or savages at least half a million of perfectly capable adults.

ROLAND K. WILSON.

\* See Mr. Rees' paper in our last issue (July), pp. 1-32.

† See paper, "Agricola Redivivus," in last issue (July), pp. 52-78.

## THE ANNUAL MEETING.

THE annual meeting of the East India Association was held on June 24 at the Westminster Town Hall. Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., presided. He proposed the adoption of the report and accounts, which was seconded by RAIZADA ESHWAR DAS, and carried unanimously. The election of Mr. Loraine Petre, late Commissioner at Allahabad, and Mr. S. S. Thorburn, late Financial Commissioner of the Panjab, on the Council was confirmed.

The three retiring members of Council, Sir H. S. Cunningham, K.C.I.E., Sir Charles A. Elliott, K.C.S.I., and Sir Gerald S. V. Fitzgerald, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., were re-elected.

The election of Lord Reay as President for the ensuing year was also unanimously carried.

On the proposal of the CHAIRMAN, seconded by SIR M. M. BROWN-AGREE, K.C.I.E.; Mr. Thomas Richard Fernandez, of the Bombay Revenue Survey Department (retired), was elected a member of the Association.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman concluded the proceedings.

## ANNUAL REPORT.

THE Council of the East India Association submit their Report for the year 1900-1901. As in the previous year, the occurrence of important and national events, the wars in the Transvaal and China, and the death and mourning of the Queen-Empress have affected the Association unfavourably, both in the number of lectures delivered and in the amount of public attention given to them. Several important papers of permanent interest have, nevertheless, been read before the Association, and published in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, the relations with which have been successfully maintained since the lamented death of Dr. G. W. Leitner. The first paper of the year, read on May 21, 1900, was on the "Contribution of Jainism to Philosophy, History, and Progress," by Mr. Virchand R. Gandhi, Lord Reay being in the chair. Other papers of interest were :

Tuesday, June 12, Mr. Archibald Colquhoun, the distinguished traveller, on "Afghanistan, the Key to India," Joseph Walton, Esq., M.P., in the chair.

Friday, June 29, Mr. Maconachie, of the Bengal Civil Service, on "The Desirability of a Definite Recognition of the Religious Element in Government Education in India," Lord Reay in the chair.

Tuesday, December 4, Mr. William Sowerby, C.E., F.G.S., on "Water Supply and Prevention of Drought in India," Lord Reay, G.C.S.I., LL.D., in the chair.

Tuesday, January 29, 1901, Mr. F. Loraine Petre, late Commissioner at Allahabad, lectured on "Indian Secretariats and their relation to General Administration," Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., in the chair.

Monday, May 6, Mr. John David Rees, C.I.E., late member of the Governor-General's Council, on "Famine Facts and Fallacies," Sir Charles Elliott in the chair.

On June 24, Mr. Thorburn, late Financial Commissioner of the Panjab, read a paper on "Agricola Redivivus," Mr. Leonard Courtney, F.C., in the chair.

Some of these papers gave rise to very interesting and suggestive discussions.

There are many questions of importance to India in the energetic administrative measures and proposals of the present Viceroy, Lord Curzon. Two of these have been ably discussed in the admirable papers of Mr. Loraine Petre and Mr. Thorburn. There are others which deal with a reformation of the educational system, technical instruction, commercial and manufacturing development, trade routes to China and Central Asia, to which the attention of the Association may with great advantage be directed, and on which the Council will be glad to receive papers from experienced English or Indian gentlemen.

The Council are unable to announce the settlement of the Holkar endowment case, to which reference was made in the last annual report. So far, they have not succeeded in obtaining control of the capital of the trust which is lying in the Bank of Bombay, nor of the interest which has accrued for several years past. Legal proceedings are being taken against parties in Bombay whose obstruction has delayed a settlement, and the Maharaja Shivajee Rao Holkar has been asked to appoint new trustees, and a legal deed has been sent out for his signature to this effect. Meantime, the funds of the Association have suffered from this lock-up of its income, and it is again necessary to urge all its friends, both Indian and English, to come forward in support of this institution, both by liberal donations and by themselves becoming members, and inducing all interested in the welfare and progress of India to do so.

The question of the treatment of Indian immigrants in British colonies in South Africa and in the newly-annexed States of the Transvaal and the Orange River is constantly pressed upon the Association by the local Indian representatives. It has not been found possible to take other measures than those already reported, nor, until the conclusion of the war and the restoration of civil administration, can the authorities be expected to adjudicate on the claims of Indian immigrants. But the subject will continue to receive the attention which it demands from the Association, and the presence of Lord Milner in England may afford an opportunity for discussion with the official charged with the duty of placing the administration in the newly-annexed territory on a basis which must be as liberal and

just to the loyal Indian people as to those who have been so long in arms against us.

The Council congratulate itself on the accession to its ranks of Mr. Loraine Petre and Mr. Thorburn, distinguished members of the Civil Service of the North-Western Provinces and the Panjab respectively. His Highness the Maharaja of Durbangha has been elected as Vice-President, and has signified his acceptance of the honour.

The members who have joined the Association during the year are :

F. Loraine Petre, Esq.  
S. S. Thorburn, Esq.

The Association has lost by death

John Corbett, Esq.

And the following members have resigned :

Colonel J. O. Hasted, R.E.  
Henry Coke, Esq.

The following members of Council retire by rotation according to terms of Article 12. They are eligible and offer themselves for re-election :

Sir H. S. Cunningham, K.C.I.E.  
Sir Charles Elliott, K.C.S.I.  
Sir G. S. V. Fitzgerald, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

LEPEL GRIFFIN,  
*Chairman of the Council.*

C. W. ARATHOON,  
*Honorary Secretary.*

*June 11, 1901.*

Abstract of accounts, duly audited, shows receipts, £426 11s. 7½d. ; expenditure, £346 19s. 2d. ; balance at bankers and in hand, £79 12s. 5½d. For details, see Journal of the Association, July, 1901.

THE POSITION OF BRITISH INDIANS IN THE SOUTH  
AFRICAN COLONIES AND THE ANNEXATION OF  
THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLICS.

COPY-LETTER SENT BY THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION TO THE  
COLONIAL SECRETARY.

"East India Association,  
3, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W.,  
July 29th, 1901.

"To the Right Honourable Joseph Chamberlain, His Majesty's  
Secretary of State for the Colonies.

"SIR,

"Now that arrangements are being made for the re-establishment and reorganization of civil administration in the British colonies of the Transvaal and the Orange River, the Council of the East India Association are being urged on all sides to lose no time in renewing the efforts they began some years ago to secure more equitable treatment of His Majesty's loyal Indian subjects trading in South Africa.

"The Council are well aware of the peculiar difficulties that beset the subject, and know also that the Colonial Office has frequently expressed its sympathy with the unfortunate position of Indian traders in Natal; but they venture to submit that the Home Government, having full authority in the newly-annexed States, have a most favourable opportunity for establishing a fair and honourable position for Indian traders, which may be hereafter accepted by the other South African colonies. The Council believe that no such opportunity will occur again, and they are unanimously of opinion that if it be still found impossible to secure more liberal treatment of our Indian fellow-subjects, it would be only reasonable and right for the Government of India to advise them to avoid South Africa altogether, and at the same time to prohibit the emigration of indentured coolies to any part of that country; for if the Indian Government is not in a position to secure their just rights for British Indian traders abroad, it can do no less than warn them of the fact, and adopt the only measure which seems likely to compel the adoption of a more reasonable policy.

"His Majesty's Government are so well acquainted with the facts of the case that the Council feel it is unnecessary to trespass on your time with any details of the grievances complained of, and will only respectfully invite your attention to the enclosed copy of their Memorial\* to the Secretary of State for India, dated December 15th, 1897, and the reply to it.

[Signed] "LEPEL GRIFFIN,  
"Chairman of Council."

A copy of the above letter has been forwarded to the Right Honourable Lord Milner, G.C.S.I.

\* See "Journal of the East India Association," vol. xxx., No. 13, p. 11, issued April, 1898.

## CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

## SIR ARTHUR COTTON AS AN AGRICULTURAL REFORMER.

SIR,

If Sir Arthur Cotton surpassed all other men as an irrigation engineer, and was in his own line perhaps the greatest benefactor India ever had, his work as an agricultural reformer in this country at a time of life when most men find their energies exhausted is in many ways even more surprising. That an official in India should work strenuously during the whole of his service is happily nothing exceptional, though few men have the opportunities he had or the genius to avail themselves of them as he did. But for a man of eighty-four to inaugurate experiments in agriculture, and to carry them on year after year with such persistence as to compel the attention of that class which seems of all others the most opposed to innovation, is even more surprising to me than his unparalleled success in his own proper work. Unfortunately it cannot be said that he met with the same success in carrying out his ideas of agricultural reform, and it may be worth while to consider why the English farmer has failed to adopt his system of deep cultivation to any great extent.

The enormous value of that system is beyond all question. Wheat grown when he was ninety-three years of age yielded "at the rate of 130 *bushels to the acre* instead of 29, the usual average for the country. It also yielded straw of remarkable quality—6 feet high (average)—and weighing at the rate of 10 tons to the acre" (pp. 545, 546). This may seem incredible, but I have seen his wheat and have heard his own evidence, and no one who knows even no more of him than can be gathered from this book would think of questioning his word on a plain matter of fact. Now what does such an extraordinary result mean? Let us simplify calculations by reducing his outturn to 120 bushels an acre, and increasing the ordinary farmer's average to 30, and we shall see that if all land under wheat—and most wheat land is better than that of his garden—could be made to yield at the same rate, we should have no need to import a single bushel even with the reduced area now under cultivation in this country. Even if we could get only 80 bushels to the acre, we should require no more than the 4,000,000 acres which were under wheat some forty years ago in order to supply the whole of our requirements. The question is indeed "a national one, and one of incalculable importance" (p. 547). For the system is equally applicable to all crops, and would at least double the produce of the country from the same area of land, to say nothing of the enormous saving in seed. Four grains of wheat to the square foot was Sir Arthur's allowance, and of these he would remove three when he could decide which was likely to prove the best specimen, so that each grain had a square foot of soil to itself, and once produced as many as 190 ears of corn! No one who has not seen his wheat could



realize what a veritable bush ("100 to 120 straws") sprang from each grain, quite enough to cover thickly the whole square foot of land.

But the professional agriculturist always says that such small experiments are no proof that corresponding results would follow experiments on a large scale, and that the expense of such cultivation is enormous. Of course deep cultivation is more expensive, but a difference in the outturn of £24 an acre instead of £6 leaves an enormous margin for increased cost of cultivation, and the Duke of Bedford seems to have proved that 50s. an acre will cover all the extra cost (p. 547). As to the argument that cultivation on such a small scale is no criterion, it is really unworthy of notice. As Sir Arthur himself used to say, if you are buying armour-plating for a ship you test a small plate, and calculate the cost from that; but agriculturists, as a rule, are *not* enterprising, and not inclined to leave the groove in which they have always run. When I asked Sir Arthur whether the neighbouring farmers did not flock in to examine his experiments for themselves, and what they thought about them, his half-angry reply was that they "hadn't even sense enough to look over his hedge." But the fact, no doubt, is that it requires capital to work a farm on Sir Arthur's principles, and without greater security that he will be allowed to reap the full advantage of his own extra labour and expense, it is not likely that a tenant-farmer will ever have the enterprise to cultivate his land as it ought to be cultivated. Once make all land the property of the State, and let every farmer hold his farm on an indefeasible title direct from the State, with no tax on his own improvements, and there will be some chance of the land producing what it ought to produce, and some chance of our producing food enough for our own consumption. Until we succeed in doing this all the ships in the world, even if we had sailors to man them, will never secure us from starvation in time of war. Many people are driven to advocate protection by means of duties on foreign wheat and flour in order to encourage the cultivation of English wheat, and as far as flour—a manufactured and often pernicious article—goes, I am inclined to agree; but they are strangely oblivious of the fact that any artificial increase in the price of wheat would only end in raising rents, and that the farmer would be no better off than before.

Surprising as Sir Arthur's farming experiments no doubt were—especially when we consider his age and his want of technical training in agriculture—it is absurd to look upon their results as generally unattainable when we find that at Tuskegee (U.S.A.) Professor Carver succeeded in raising a crop of 400 bushels of potatoes to the acre by scientific treatment, as compared with 40 bushels raised in the ordinary way, and that the quality of the potato was as much improved as the quantity. The great secret lies, he says, in "small farms well" (*i.e.*, scientifically) "tilled" (*Review of Reviews* for June, p. 569). The Editor speaks of the Professor as a kind of prodigy, and his crop as "something like a crop"; but from 9 to 12 tons an acre is not unusual in Scotland, and there is really no reason why such crops should not be general: it is only a question of agricultural education.

J. B. P.

## THE PREVENTION OF FAMINE IN INDIA.

SIR,

Your last issue contains a contribution under the above heading. The writer appears to me to have pointed out the real cause of the famines from which our fellow-subjects in that land abnormally suffer. They are not occasioned by want of water, but by want of rain. What with rivers, tanks, wells, and irrigation works, the water-supply is more than sufficient for the drink of the peoples. Untold quantities of water flow away into the seas continually. If some means could be devised by which water for washing and bathing purposes could be more effectually brought within reach of the population residing far inland from the sea and far away from the rivers, there would be but little to complain of on this score. The frequency with which the famines occur requires to be accounted for in some other way. They arise from deficiency of rainfall.

From the earliest known periods India has been subject to famines more or less extensive and more or less prolonged and severe. This kind of scourge is not a new experience there, and do what we may, the recurrence of famines will continue to be the terror of all who are committed to the administration of that far-extending territory. There is, however, no denying the fact that within the last fifty years famines have been more frequent there than they were in the centuries prior to the introduction of railways. The amount of wood that is employed in the construction of the Indian railways and railway-stations is simply inconceivable. Go where one may nowadays, the dense and far-reaching forests of which the Hindu writings speak in such glowing terms, are almost nowhere to be found.

The reason for this depletion of timber is not far to seek. The enterprising Englishman has been at work, and the native has followed the example of his rulers. Englishmen have felled the forests partly for building houses and places of business after the Western style, partly for engine fires, and mainly for railway sleepers—I say “for engine fires,” for prior to the discovery of coal in India the railway and other engines were fed with timber. The natives have followed suit. Losing in great measure the ancestral sentiment regarding the “sacredness” of the forest, they in their turn cut down the trees for firewood. Undoubtedly wood was always used more or less for this purpose, but their fires were largely fed with animal substances, and brushwood was largely used rather than the timber of felled trees. But let anyone who would have ocular proof of what I have said note on either side of the great and beautiful highways which have been driven through the land everywhere since English rule began there, and he will see that the far-famed mango-groves of the olden time are now hacked to ~~logs~~ <sup>logs</sup>, and that of trees whose dense foliage once afforded shelter to man and beast and bird from the oppressive rays of the great enemy, the sun, nothing now remains but the broken and jagged stumps.

How dependent all tropical populations are for their sustenance upon the regularity of the rainfall no one needs to be told. Anything that militates against that regularity ought surely to be discouraged and by all means prevented. The denudation of the land as to its standing timber is, as Mr. Innes has so ably argued, the immediate cause of those abnor-

mally deficient rainfalls which of later years have so severely afflicted the people of India, and which have been the chronic terror of the Government there. But to trace the cause of the famines is one thing, to suggest some practicable remedy is another. It was long ago evident to the Government of India that the denudation of the land of its once magnificent forests was a thing to be regretted, and the creation of the Woods and Forests Department was the outcome. But even with the most vigilant application of the functions of that department it will take many centuries to restore to the country anything resembling its almost primeval forests. And "while the grass is growing" how shall we provide for the starving poor, ever the first to discover the variations in the price of food? Irrigation and other artificial appliances are deserving of all credit for the benevolence of their conception. But they are very costly, and they do not bring the rainfall. Till the forests are restored the rains will be irregular and insufficient, and famines with their concomitant epidemics will continue to embarrass the Government, to deplete our resources, and to embitter the social life of the masses of the people. For the poor we have always with us; they are in the majority in all lands.

J. D. BATE.

Folkestone.

#### COMMON SALT AS A PREVENTIVE OF CHOLERA AND PLAGUE IN INDIA.

SIR,

By the last mail I received your April number of the *Review*, for which please accept my very best thanks. There are so many matters of interest, but what interested me most was the article on the value of salt in plague and cholera. It is certainly well written by the author, and I believe common salt is undoubtedly an *absolutely* necessary article of food for the preservation of health, but I doubt if it will prove equally useful as a remedial agent when once a man has got either the plague or cholera. Both diseases I know, as a doctor, are so intense in their effects, and as a rule so rapidly fatal, that common salt will have a poor chance to effect a cure. The anti-cholera serum, I agree with the author, has not turned out a success; but I believe Haffkine's anti-plague serum *has* some efficacy as a *preventive* against the plague. What is really wanted, however, is good sanitation in India, clean, airy dwellings, and wholesome drinking-water, and both plague and cholera will be extinct. The Government of India spend enormous sums on whitewashing and disinfecting and maintaining a large staff for plague, but they do not strike at the root of the evil, which is overcrowding in houses, which more appropriately might be called pigsties, so wretched is their condition. The real remedy for plague in India is not doctors and nurses and hospitals, but the widening of filthy lanes and streets and the demolition of hovels, where men live like rats in a gruesome atmosphere. If you want to apply a remedy to a disease, you should remove its cause. This, however, is not carried out to anything like the extent to which it ought to be, and plague is as rampant to-day in India as it was when it first started five years ago; so all the money spent

over it during that time has nothing to show for it. A tinkering policy in any matter is always a bad one, and this is a fair example of it. I am sorry to say Chinese cities are not more savoury than Indian ones. When I was in India, I thought nothing could beat Calcutta (the proud capital of India) in the matter of dirty houses; but after seeing Tientsin and Peking, I have changed my opinion. I see, by the way, that the housing question is attracting some attention at present in London, in spite of more important matters like the Boer War and the Chinese question, which is a good sign. It is the fault of hygienists that when they write books on hygiene they do not lay the same stress on clean dwellings as on clean air, water and food, although the first item is every bit as important as the rest. If a person wants to build a house, he has first plans and sketches of what the house is going to be like, the number and size of doors and windows, the number of stories, length and breadth of rooms, and a hundred other particulars; but if a city is to be built, the way of the world seems to be to let it build itself in any shape and form it likes, it is all left to chance. This, however, is quite wrong, and if there is an excuse for old cities already built, there is none for new cities which are being rapidly built in the Colonies and in America. A new city should invariably be built on a certain plan, and it is the duty of the State to see that it is so built; but there has been great laxity on this important subject, and the devil comes in the shape of plague to warn us of our mistake.

I am, etc.,

China, July, 1901.

D. S. O.

#### AFFAIRS IN CHINA, BRITISH AND CHINESE.

SIR,

I wish to tell you something of our doings here, and of things Chinese in general. In my last letter I said something about the friendship of America. Every British officer here knows how real and genuine has been the friendship of our cousins across the Atlantic, and, viewed from here, across the Pacific, who have lately fought shoulder to shoulder in this part of the world, and whose intended departure to Manilla soon we all so much regret. Last month we gave them a farewell concert at Peking, and this month we have given them a similar one here, amidst intense enthusiasm on both sides as befitting a great occasion. When Englishmen do a thing, they may be trusted to do it well, and we on our part have left nothing undone to promote that good feeling which it is necessary should ever exist between England and America. But if we have shown any good taste, the Americans have not been slow to respond. In fact, they have gone one better, and in that quiet and unassuming way, characteristic of the American General and all his officers in the allied force in China, they have allowed us the privilege of applying for the Military Order of the Dragon, a new Order which they have brought in to commemorate the recent operations in China. I hope sincerely our Government will reciprocate this good feeling, and bestow upon the Americans something similar in return for their courtesy. It is certainly an opportunity which should not be missed, as it may never come again.

To turn to other matters, the siege of Peking is now a matter of history, and after weary negotiations, extending over several months, there seems at last to be some prospect of a settlement with China. As you have doubtless heard by this time, some of the offenders have been beheaded (I hope no innocent man was beheaded by mistake), and the indemnity question is in a fair way of settlement. Some of the troops of the allied forces have already left here, others are to follow soon, and it is confidently expected in some quarters that peace and prosperity will soon be restored. I am not a pessimist, but I have my doubts. Now is the time for British statesmen to look a little ahead, and to shape their policy and to *stick* to it. There will be nothing more disastrous to England in the near future than a half-hearted, constantly changing policy over the Chinese question with every change of Ministry. A rolling stone, they say, gathers no moss, and a changing policy will gather no good fruits. Singleness and continuity of purpose, irrespective of political rancour and party strife, is what the country should expect from British statesmen worthy of the name. I have seen something of China now and of Chinese ways, and formed my own conclusions as to the future of the country. My friends tell me that China has had a severe lesson, which will stand her in good stead for many a year to come. I hope their forecast will prove correct, but I do not think so. Without a liberal education, without cohesion, and without a head, no Government can exist long in these days. These, I am afraid; China has not got, and probably never *will* get, of herself. The moral is obvious. In any agreement we may come to with China the best policy seems to me to be to ask China to throw open the whole country to the trade of civilized nations, to encourage British merchants to establish trade-centres, to connect these centres by roads and railways with *British* money, and, finally, to guard the interests of the people so engaged in trade with a small military garrison in each centre of trade. With well-established communications, and with a large sea-board, such as China has, these cities of trade need never be in fear of complete isolation or destruction. We do not want to grab China; we want the trade of the country, and I think there is no better plan than what I have just sketched. And, depend upon it, if we do not act upon these lines, other nations will, and we shall be left out in the cold in the markets of China, while it will be our own fault if it should ever come to this. The question will probably arise, Who is to pay for the maintenance of small garrisons in the newly-opened trade-centres? My answer is, England. She may be out of pocket for a while, but the money so spent will all come back to her increased tenfold in a few years. Any man of business will tell you that you must lay out a little money first before you can expect to make a gain, and England must do the same. The recent history of America, of Canada and other British colonies, is replete with instances of this nature, if instances be required. The general health of British troops continue excellent.

B. IN C.

Tientsin, July, 1901.

THE INDIAN CONTINGENT IN CHINA AND THE PLAGUE  
IN INDIA.

(From a Special Correspondent.)

SIR,

The Indian contingent in China was broken up in June last, and with the exception of small garrisons at important centres like Tientsin, Shan-hai-kuan and Shanghai, all the Indian troops have now returned. It is needless to say that with the exception of the one central fact of the British Legation at Peking being saved from a general massacre by the Boxers, nothing tangible has been gained by this last expedition to China. Matters remain very much where they were before, and the whole country is, to my thinking, far from being in a settled state, and personally I have doubts if the Chinese will ever pay the indemnity in full. I sincerely hope this forecast is incorrect, but with the Russians gradually encroaching upon the north, the French in the south, and Germany in the centre, it will be strange if some new complications do not crop up soon.

Chinese politics aside, and turning to India now, it will appear from the last Indian Budget that the financial position is still fairly healthy, although it must be remembered that the wars in South Africa and China have greatly helped to relieve the strain, as the expenses of all troops sent out of India were paid by the Home Government.

Plague is rampant all over India, sometimes worse, sometimes better, but it is there, and I doubt very much if it will ever be *stamped out*, as the Government fully intended it should be five years ago. They have not succeeded so far, and I do not see how they can succeed as long as they do not go to the root of the evil, which is faulty construction of houses. Mere whitewashing and disinfection of a house does not alter the sanitary condition of a house badly constructed.

Calcutta, August 19, 1901.

M. O. I-HINDI.

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THE NEW POLICY IN WAZIRISTAN.

The *Times*' special correspondent (August 17) discusses the various policies that have hitherto been followed, and sums up the advantages of what is called the "blockade" system as follows: "The method claims three main advantages over that of punitive expeditions, the first, that of enforcing joint responsibility (among the members of the tribes). The second is the enormous saving of money, the cost in this instance working out at about Rs. 1,500 as against Rs. 100,000 per day. At this rate a blockade can be kept up for three years for about the same expenditure as would be necessary for an expedition lasting sixteen days. The third advantage of a blockade is that it enlists instead of alienates the sympathy of the surrounding tribes." It moreover saves lives and destruction of property, and avoids probably permanent alienation and hostility.

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THE PLAGUE IN INDIA.

A correspondent of the London *Times* of August 23 concludes an interesting communication by saying: "The best of deodorizers and dis-

infectants is everywhere available in the sun, the direct rays of which are inimical to the existence of the bacilli. If the people could be induced to admit them freely into their ill-ventilated and badly-lighted tenements, a vast stride would be taken towards the delivery of the patient toiling masses of Hindustan from this comparatively new but persistent destroyer, which walketh in darkness and wasteth at noon-day—a consummation towards which the efforts of Government continue to be earnestly and zealously directed.”

#### INDIA : ACCOUNTS AND ESTIMATES, 1901-1902.

An explanatory memorandum by the Secretary of State for India has been presented to Parliament, in which it is stated that the revenue and expenditure of the country are continually increasing. The net revenue account for 1899-1900 was £40,986,698, and the net expenditure £38,212,075, thus a surplus of £2,774,623. The reduction in the net revenue as estimate is attributable to the famine, land revenue being less by £1,215,275, and provincial rates by £135,442; but there were improvements of £444,189 under opium, £292,583 under mint, £132,151 in exchange, and £75,792 under Customs and other heads. Compared with the Budget of last year, the Budget for 1901-1902 is expected to show an improvement of £271,200, and the net expenditure is expected to be better by £530,600.

#### CULTIVATION OF INDIGO IN INDIA.

At the opening of the Hofman House, the new home of the German Chemical Society of Berlin, Dr. Brunck, the principal managing director of the Badische Anilin and Soda Fabrik, delivered an important lecture to a gathering of eminent European chemists on the manufacture of artificial indigo in Germany. He pointed out that the development of the manufacture had been enormous, the quantity produced in Ludwigshafen being equal to what would require a quarter of a million of acres in India. He made as an impartial adviser a suggestion that the Indian Government should consider whether the land now occupied in growing the plant should not in future be devoted to the cultivation of food-stuffs, or its systematic conversion to other uses, with the view of its being useful in future seasons of famine. The collector of Customs at Calcutta reports that the average annual exports in the three years preceding the appearance of artificial indigo were 109,182 cwt., valued at 231 rupees per maund, whereas during the last four years, because of the competition, the average exports were 70,964 cwt., valued at 178 rupees per maund.

#### IRRIGATION ON THE UPPER NILE.

Lord Cromer in his despatch, Egypt, No. 2 (1901),\* appends a special Report by Sir William Garstin, with maps, illustrating the irrigation projects, of great value, towards the further development of the prosperity of Egypt and that of the Sudan.

\* Presented to both Houses of Parliament, July, 1901.

Sir William Garstin gives the result of his observations on the White Nile and its main affluents during the past three years. It is the first occasion upon which the Upper Nile region has been thoroughly examined by a competent hydraulic engineer. It embraces the White Nile, the Bahr-el-Gebel, Lake No and the Bahr-el-Ghazal, the Bahr-el-Zeraf and the Sobat, the navigation of the river by the clearance of the *sudd* and "river discharges." Sir William Garstin's observations are far more complete and trustworthy than any which have heretofore been made. His conclusions are of the utmost importance, not only for the continued prosperity of Egypt proper, but also for the development of the Sudan and even of Abyssinia. As to the Sudan, a railway connecting Khartoum with the Red Sea is of urgent necessity in order to afford improved facilities for exporting actual products and importing present requirements. Should these projects be carried out there is no limit to the cultivation of the soil and the comfort and happiness and wealth of the people. We invite the careful study of these important documents.

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#### CROP AND PLANT CULTIVATION IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

Mr. Wallace, Professor of Agriculture and Rural Economy of the Edinburgh University, has delivered an important course of lectures on the above subject in the Museum of the Royal Botanic Society's Gardens, Regent's Park, London, during the past three months. The object of these lectures has been to convey to the students of agriculture not only the first principles of colonization and plantation, but to exhibit the economic geography and economic botany of the various British colonies, dependencies and protectorates. The series of lectures is in accordance with "The Garton Lectures". (see our issue for October, 1900, pp. 246-251), and has covered Africa, Australasia, Canada and Newfoundland, the West Indian plains and South American colonies and the East Indies. Among other subjects discussed were climate, soil, natural and exotic vegetations, labour, preparatory steps, markets, intercommunications, and prospects of extension. The outlines of these exhaustive and important lectures will be found in the Journal of the Royal Botanic Gardens Club, London.

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#### THE LIVINGSTONE COLLEGE AND HEALTH BUREAU.

We rejoice to learn from *Climate* that a suitable building has been obtained at Leyton for carrying out the purposes of this institution—the instructing of missionaries, travellers, explorers and others, as to the laws of health, and the treatment of the most common accidents and diseases in Africa and other tropical regions. There has also been established at 133, Salisbury Square, Fleet Street, London, E.C., a "Travellers' Health Bureau," where all necessary information may be obtained by travellers and others as to outfit and other necessary requirements, and as to climate and other useful particulars.



## THE "OUSELEY" SCHOLARSHIPS, 1901-2.

These scholarships are given annually by the School of Modern Oriental Studies of the Imperial Institute of the United Kingdom, the Colonies and India. The prize for Marathi for this year has been awarded to Mr. J. R. Martin. A scholarship of £50, tenable for two years, will be awarded next year for proficiency in Persian. The examination will take place early in July, 1902. For particulars application should be made to the Secretary, School of Modern Oriental Studies, Imperial Institute, Kensington, London, S.W.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

GEORGE BELL AND SONS; LONDON, 1901.

1. *Elements of the Jewish and Muhammadan Calendars*, by the REV. S. B. BURNABY, M.A.—This is one of the most elaborate works ever published on the Jewish and Muhammadan Calendars. Two-thirds of a volume of some 550 pages are devoted to the former, one-third to the latter, and the tables alone occupy more than 100 pages. The author says truly that the subject does not admit of much originality, but he has spent much labour on the work; his industry has ransacked many little-known publications, and he has two great merits: he sticks to his point, and he treats his subject with lucidity. The reader will wonder at first sight how the Jewish and Muhammadan Calendars come to be treated side by side. The Jewish is the most perfect luni-solar or ecclesiastical Calendar in existence. The Muhammadan is not only purely lunar, it intentionally rejected the attempts which the pre-Islamic Arabs in the "times of ignorance" had made to correct it. The author explains that the combination of the two in a single volume is an accident. His treatises were originally designed to be parts of a colossal work on the chief Calendars of the world, especially on the Calendars of those nations which profess a universal religion. Ill health obliged him to abandon his original plan, and he remodelled his essays on the Jewish and Muhammadan Calendars for separate publication. An interior connection may be found in the fact that Albirūnī's great work on the "Chronology of Ancient Nations," written about 1000 A.D., is the earliest scientific authority for either Calendar.

Works on chronology demand a rare combination of mathematical skill and historical learning. Every Calendar has been originally invented in the service of religion, for every religion has its festivals and fasts. At first direct observation supplies the time, but as the succession of the days and nights never corresponds exactly with the rotation of the sun and moon, astronomy must be called in, and hence the discovery of cycles. For religious uses and popular purposes this sufficed, and the great nations of antiquity never progressed much further. Every land and almost every town was content with a calendar and an era of its own; it had its own system of chronology as it had its own weights and measures. The year might begin with the vernal equinox in one town and with the autumnal equinox in the next. Thirteen rival systems held sway within a single corner of Asia Minor. A battle, a famine, some great political event, even the visit of an Emperor, served for the starting-point of an era. The astronomers alone employed a true era in the modern fashion, but their system was confined to themselves. The universal religions were the first to demand a universal Calendar. We all know the difficulties which arose in the Early Church regarding the observance of Easter. The authority of the Jewish patriarch determined the date of the Passover, but when commerce and persecution had scattered the Jews, it became necessary to

publish rules for the calculation of the Calendar. On the other hand, the extension of Muhammadan dominion over Syria and Egypt obliged the Caliph Omar to institute a uniform Calendar for all true believers. It will be seen, then, that there is great scope for the historian as well as the astronomer in the treatment of chronology. Mr. Burnaby's account of the history of the Calendar and of the various fasts and festivals is interesting, but he adheres to the traditional view throughout, and does not attempt any original historical research. The strength of the book lies in its mathematical work, in the clearness with which the astronomical problems are treated, and in the elaborate tables. The author has always had a practical end in view. Among other things he examines at great length the various rules for reducing Jewish and Muhammadan dates to the Christian era, and *vice versa*, and gives some most useful tables, which will be of great assistance to the Orientalist and the historian. A word must be added in praise of the printing; it is excellent.

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CASELL AND CO., LIMITED; LONDON, PARIS, NEW YORK, AND  
MELBOURNE.

2. *Cassell's History of the Boer War, 1899-1901*, by RICHARD DANES. This history, consisting of 1566 pages, profusely illustrated, well written, with a copious index, carries the reader with unflagging interest through the various stages of the war from its commencement to the time when Lord Kitchener takes command. The author's description of the following incident will give some idea of his racy style: "In one of these little fights a certain Lieutenant of the Tasmanians won the coveted V.C. His troop, skirmishing in the daring fashion now well known as the Australian style of fighting, got into a tight place. The enemy poured in a hot fusillade, so hot that the Tasmanians were ordered to retire. The enemy followed up and brought down one of the rearmost troopers. Then Wylly dashed back, carried his comrade out of action under a heavy fire, handed him over to others to be taken care of, and himself dashed back to the rear again to perform a second exploit even more creditable than the first. That was no less than placing himself in the rear of the troop and acting as rear-guard. The colonial was a fine shot, and he took plenty of cover and let the Dutchmen have it. His rifle was so unerring that the Boers presently checked. Then they dismounted, took cover also, and tried to snipe the plucky Tasmanian. Wylly kept up the duel of one man against fifty long enough to enable the troop to get out of danger. Then he remounted and retired on them, but not without an honourable wound."

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C. J. CLAY AND SONS; CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE,  
LONDON, 1901.

3. *Studia Sinaitica*. No. VIII.: *Apocrypha Arabica*, edited and translated into English by MARGARET DUNLOP GIBSON, LL.D., M.R.A.S. This work constitutes Part VIII. of the now well-known series of "*Studia Sinaitica*" that are being issued by the Mesdames Lewis and Gibson. It consists of four contributions—"The Book of the Rolls," "The Story of

Aphkia," "Cyprian and Justa"—in Arabic, and the same in Greek. Of these the first two are here given in the original text (the Arabic), and translations of them into English are given later on; of the third *two* texts are given, the Arabic and the Greek. As to the absence of any English translation of "Cyprian and Justa" (or Justina), Mrs. Gibson explains: "As my sister is giving a translation of this story from the Syriac of the upper script of the Palimpsest of the Four Gospels in No. X. of the present series, I did not think it necessary to translate the Arabic here." And as to the Greek version, she adds: "It is taken from the MS. 497 in Gardthausen's Catalogue, which belongs to the tenth or the eleventh century." To each of the four works there is an introduction by Mrs. Gibson, as also numerous and very recondite "Notes" in which these manuscripts are collated with others, and all through the work there is a number of various readings supplied at the foot of the page. The work of editing and translating is carried on throughout in that spirit of thoroughness, of patient attention to detail, and of unique scholarship which have characterized the work of these noble toilers in the previous issues of this important series of contributions to Shemitic learning. There is no flagging of zeal nor any variableness in respect of industry. These documents all have to do with Biblical subjects. A perusal of them, however, shows that they are correctly described as "Apocryphal." The internal evidence of them places their claim to rivalry with the documents of the received Canon out of the question. The garbled nature of their statements of fact, as also the curious anachronisms they exhibit, are such as to prove abundantly that they have no title to take rank as authentic history. The publication of these documents, as also of other manuscripts already reviewed by us in this series, does good service in this respect: that when one reads them side by side with the Scriptures, accounted by the Jews as "Canonical," the effect is to deepen the conviction of the indisputable superiority of the Canons of Scripture to any of the writings not included therein. The moral effect of the internal evidence places all pretence of authenticity on the part of these documents out of court. We base our judgment in this matter, not on the ground of foregone conclusion or mere predilection in favour of the Scriptures as received, but on the ground of sheer matter of fact. Of this any intelligent reader of these documents will be fully convinced. There are also several plates containing beautifully-executed photographs of portions of the manuscripts exhibiting specimens of the Arabic, Syriac and Greek originals. The printing is such as leaves nothing to be desired.—B.

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ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO., LIMITED; WESTMINSTER, 1901.

4. *Asia and Europe: Studies Presenting the Conclusions formed by the Author in a long Life devoted to the Subject of the Relations between Asia and Europe*, by MEREDITH TOWNSEND. The sub-title tells us the scope of these papers, reprinted, all but the first, from the *Contemporary Review*, the old *National Review*, and the *Spectator*. Mr. Meredith's thesis is that there are inherent differences between the two continents which prevent

one of them from permanently conquering the other, and he brings to its treatment twelve years' editorial experience in the office of the *Friend of India*, coupled, as he himself tells us, with fifty years' study of the subject (p. 19). These qualifications naturally enable him to put a large number of Oriental problems in a new light, so that even those who do not agree with his verdict will find his book highly interesting. On the burning question of missionary success in India, for example, he gives us explanations which appear to go to the root of the matter, showing conclusively that the difficulties in the way are not those commonly imagined, and acquainting us with others of whose existence no inhabitant of Europe dreams. Who would think it possible, to mention one of these, that an astronomer, noted for his calculation of eclipses, should believe at heart all the while that they were caused by a dog swallowing the moon? Where minds are so constituted, there is no reason why men should not sincerely hold both Christianity and its opposite to be equally true, and thus form the despair of the missionary. It is more generally known that he has to contend with caste, but the formidable nature of the obstacle is not equally recognised, and the author's summing up may serve to give some idea of it: "I firmly believe caste to be a marvellous discovery—a form of socialism which through ages has protected Hindoo society from anarchy and from the worst evils of industrial and competitive life. It is an automatic Poor-Law to begin with, and the strongest form known of trades union" (p. 72). Mr. Townsend is in complete sympathy with the missionaries, but this does not blind him to the falseness of the end they have in view—the "Europeanization" of Asiatics converted into "a hybrid caste not quite European, not quite Indian, with the originality killed out of them, with self-reliance weakened, with all mental aspirations wrenched violently in a direction which is not their own" (p. 79). The effects of this policy are alluded to elsewhere. Indian graduates will not become engineers or doctors, though both are badly wanted, will not betake themselves to agriculture, commerce, or manufactures, will not cultivate the sciences or the arts, even those for which they have a special aptitude. The entire class brought up in missionary and similar colleges wish for nothing but Government appointments, and swell the ranks of the discontented because there are not enough to go round (*cf.* p. 324 *seqq.*). Another of the anomalies of Indian life is thus described: "Englishmen live on the sultry plains of New South Wales; Americans, who are only Englishmen a little desiccated, are filling up the steamy plains of Florida; Spaniards have settled as a governing caste throughout the tropical sections of the two Americas; Dutchmen dwell on in Java; but the English, whatever the temptation, will not stay in India. . . . The Viceroy rules for five years, and departs; the councillor advises for five years, and departs; the General commands for five years, and departs; the official serves thirty years, probably in ten separate counties, and departs. There is not in India one ruling man whom two generations of Indians have known as ruling man. Of all that in Europe comes of continuance, heredity, accumulated personal experience, or the wisdom of old age, there is in India not one trace. . . ." (p. 87). On topics of this kind the opinions of an experienced journalist like Mr.

Townsend are most instructive. It is a pity that he gets out of his depth when speaking of Islam. With an evident intention of treating it fairly he has allowed himself to be led astray by some exploded medieval calumnies against it, from one of which he logically derives the nonsensical corollary that "the Hindoo woman, in accepting Islam, loses her hope of heaven" (p. 53). It is to be hoped that future editions will be freed from this, the book's only blemish.—C.

5. *Ancient India, as described in Classical Literature.* Translated and copiously annotated by J. W. M'CRINDLE, M.A., LL.D., M.R.A.S., F.R.S.G.S., formerly Principal of the Government College at Patna, Bengal. This is the sixth and last volume of an interesting series of works designed to contain annotated translations of all the texts in Greek and Latin literature which relate to ancient India. There are extracts from Herodotus, Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, Pliny, Ællan, Philostratus, Dion Chrysostom, Porphyry, Stobæus, the "Itinerary of Alexander the Great," the "Periêgêtes" of Dionysius, the "Dionysiaka" of Nonnus, the "Romance History of Alexander," and other works. There is also a valuable introduction and a copious index. Each extract is prefaced by a short history of the life of the author and the character of his writing. Dr. M'Crindle classifies his authorities as those appearing before and after the Christian era, and he further differentiates that the former were nearly all written by observers on the spot—an advantage which cannot be claimed with certainty for more than one or two works of the latter. The earlier works, again, may be subdivided into those who appeared before or after the Macedonian invasion. The translations are admirably rendered, and the notes exceedingly valuable. In short, the book, in the light of modern history and our acquaintance with India, is extremely interesting, and will be read with much pleasure and profit by the student of history.

J. M. DENT AND COMPANY; LONDON, 1899.

6. *The Practical Study of Languages: a Guide for Teachers and Learners*, by HENRY SWEET, M.A., PH.D., LL.D., Corresponding Member of the Munich Academy of Sciences, formerly President of the Philological Society. The creator of the "Romic" notation here touches upon a great number of questions, but does so after a fashion not calculated to make things easy for the learner, at any rate. He begins upon one, lays it aside in favour of others, takes it up once more, starts off upon a fresh topic, harks back to his first love, and so forth. Thus Chapters II. and III. deal with phonetics, to which Chapter VI. and part of Chapter VIII. are also devoted; the colloquial tongue, under different aspects, forms the theme of Chapters VII. and XV.; the subject-matter of the texts occurs in Chapters XIII. and XIX.; and the dead languages, which give the title to Chapter XVII., are again brought forward in the last, Chapter XXI. The chapters, again, are divided into a number of sections, some of them foreign to the subject under discussion; such, for example, is the case with "visualizing," which apparently belongs to one of the chapters on method, and is put into that headed, "Relations

between Different Languages : Translation." The sections, in their turn, occasionally contain matter one would expect to find elsewhere. An analytical index, which was imperatively required under these circumstances, is conspicuous by its absence ; and the reader would be forced to make one for himself if he wished to weigh as a whole what the author has scattered over the book—say on phonetics. Allusions to this subject, to which Dr. Sweet attaches great importance, are to be found, as on pp. 144 and 244, at a good distance from the chapters dedicated to it. By the way, the first thing that catches the eye on opening the volume is a table of phonetic symbols, remarkable, like Newman's maddening "Dictionary of Modern Arabic," for making familiar letters perform functions entirely different from those we are daily accustomed to. Thus, amongst other equally wanton perversions, we find *x* adopted for *ch*, "as in German 'loch,'" a confusing change which seems the more superfluous since the French *ç* already stands for *ch*, "as in German 'ich.'" (We are not given the symbol for *ch*, "as in German 'ach'"; is it *ç*, *x*, or something else?) Construction, indeed, appears to be less in the author's line than destruction ; he clearly points out the shortcomings of Gouin, Ollendorff, and other innovators, but what he gives us himself is not always equally convincing. He objects, *e.g.*, that "making mistakes in our exercises and correcting them afterwards [usually done within a few hours] means the laborious formation of false associations, which must be unlearnt before the labour of forming the correct ones can be begun" (p. 205) ; yet he believes that a learner, having given false values to the Arabic letters whose exact function he did not know [during several months, most probably, for this is evidently the case of a man who has no teacher at hand, a want that cannot, as a rule, be provided for at a moment's notice], would afterwards find "no difficulty whatever" in substituting the real pronunciation (p. 35). In a word, there is much in the book which is of doubtful value, seasoned with useful hints here and there, such as those in the chapter on "Original Investigation." Thus we are shown, in another place, how the borrowed words in our own language assist us in acquiring a foreign vocabulary, the points of the compass in Chinese, for instance, being suggested by *Pek King* (Pekin), and *Nam King* (Nankin), *Kuang tung* (Canton), and *Kuang si* (the neighbouring province), which mean "north capital" and "south capital," "extensive east" and "extensive west" respectively (p. 92). Or we are told that "in learning French we ought to begin with what is common to both France and England, French and English life, and when we pass beyond English associations to be initiated gradually into French ones, we do not wish to accompany Jules Verne into the heart of Africa. Nor will reading about exciting adventures of Englishmen in New Guinea give a foreigner a good vocabulary for a visit to London" (p. 112). Such passages are very helpful ; the trouble is to discover them.—C.

HARPER AND BROTHERS ; LONDON AND NEW YORK, 1901.

7. *Twixt Sirdar and Menelik : An Account of a Year's Expedition from Zeila to Cairo through Unknown Abyssinia*, by the late CAPTAIN

M. S. WELLBY, 18th Hussars. Illustrated. This remarkable record, graphically and well told, with excellent illustrations, is accompanied with a sad introduction by the author's friend, Colonel Harrington, H.B.M.'s Agent in Abyssinia, in which he informs us that the brave traveller and explorer, refusing to surrender to the Boers, was immediately shot by the enemy at Paardekop on August 5, 1900. Before leaving England to join his regiment in South Africa, he had finished his book, which is dedicated to the Emperor Menelik II., from whom he had received kind hospitality and important assistance in exploring regions and meeting with tribes hitherto unknown to Englishmen. The important maps which accompany the volume are mainly, as Captain Wellby states, "the result of the untiring perseverance of Duffadar Shahzad Mir, 11th Bengal Lancers, whose great aim was to portray accurately the country we traversed, and whose faithful services rendered to me throughout the journey I shall always remember." These maps trace, for the first time to white men, unknown regions, scanty trade routes, and sources of rivers and lakes which will prove exceedingly valuable to British enterprise and future explorers.

Captain Wellby's opinion of the Abyssinians differs considerably from many other writers. He says as to their character: "I entered the country thoroughly prejudiced against (them), having been influenced by the writings and sayings of others. . . . I have endeavoured to describe their [Abyssinians] faults as well as their virtues. In doing so, I firmly maintain that the majority of their failings are entirely due to ignorance and to the result of their having existed for so long in an independent state, and my belief is that, as soon as their minds are enlightened by more direct dealings and closer intercourse with European nations, many of their failings will disappear, and the more desirable traits in their character will shine forth and increase."

Our space does not permit us to make extracts. We strongly suggest that our readers should peruse the work for themselves. It is full of interest, and of great value in view of our position in Egypt and of our maintaining and promoting friendship with the potentate of such an ancient people, open to receive Western ideas, and prepared to entertain overtures for agricultural and commercial developments of vast importance.

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WILLIAM HEINEMANN; LONDON, 1901.

8. *China and the Allies*, in 2 vols., by A. HENRY SAVAGE-LANDOR. Mr. Savage-Landor is an interesting personality, and, thanks to General Linievitch, he undoubtedly was triumphantly in the thick of it all this time, whatever overcurious sceptics may think of the exquisite tortures he once underwent in Tibet. His present book is replete with novelty and colour, from the lining of the cover (which is manifestly intended to give an eye-estimate of the fighting value of Chinese armies), to the admirable photographs scattered about, and the vivid descriptions in the text. For a man who has not yet formally joined the chaste ranks of the sinologues, Mr. Savage-Landor is, perhaps, a trifle summary and dictatorial in his opening animadversions upon the word "Boxers"; and it may here be incidentally



mentioned that scarcely a single Chinese character in the whole book is correctly reproduced for illustration, except where, as on page 22, a document is actually photographed bodily. His imperfect copying of Chinese written characters is in a way typical of the whole work, the prevailing defect of which is undue haste of judgment, and inaccuracy in small points; for instance, Ta Tao *Hwo* (instead of Hwei) for the very "Big Sword Society" we are all scolded for misunderstanding. Misprints or mistakes in proper names are recurrent throughout the work. As a picturesque description of sites visited and scenes witnessed the book is a decided success; more especially so are the photographs of persons and places; often intensely interesting. It is satisfactory to observe that our author does not imitate the unexplained persistency of the *Times*, which throughout the march upon Peking steadily called Pei-ts'ang and Yang-ts'un by the imaginary names Pei-t'ang and Yang-tun, a mystery which is perhaps to be explained by already existing imperfections in the *Times Atlas*. The plans and sketch-maps are also very good and judicious. It may be said of this book that, whilst some men have managed to produce trustworthy works rendered more lively by occasional illustrations, Mr. Savage-Landor has turned out a collection of trustworthy photographs rendered more intelligible by occasional descriptions; indeed, the casual style is suggestive of newspaper correspondence turned out by the yard at very high pressure. If there had been no expression of opinion, no criticisms, and no lecturing; if the author had simply annotated each picture shortly (for instance): "Yang-ts'un bridge, constructed by — on —, 189—; destroyed by — on the —, 19—; cost £—; joins the towns — and —," the work would have been almost as valuable as it is in its present form, to persons who, like the writer, find time altogether too fleeting to waste upon sermons and unessentials. A picture of Mr. A. Henry Savage-Landor in his shirt-sleeves was published in one of the illustrated papers during the past summer. From that alone it is possible to shrewdly surmise that he must be an excitable, temerarious, perhaps quarrelsome man, of great pluck, energy, and resource, easily moved to resentment, ambitious to shine, and ready to punch any man's head, official or otherwise, who stands in his way. The book is the ideal production of such a man. Like its creator, it is an interesting subject, full of good mixed stuff; but it needs ageing, carding, and mellowing. Some critics have said that many of the horrors so faithfully photographed should not have been given to the public. On the contrary, Mr. Savage-Landor went out to discover the truth, and the more we know of it the better; we certainly have little to be proud of as Christians. The author's leap, as depicted in a sketch upon page 315, sends through one a thrill of horror almost as dreadful as that one undergoes in reading of his hideous Tibetan tortures; in both cases a "full photograph" would make the reader's conscience decidedly easier. The photograph of the Chinese trench in process of capture (page 344) is really marvellous. On the whole, Mr. Savage-Landor has merited the mercy of the critics; his many defects are fairly counterbalanced by his zeal to deserve well.

E. H. PARKER.

CHARLES H. KELLY (WESLEYAN METHODIST BOOK ROOM); 2, CASTLE STREET, CITY ROAD, LONDON, 1901.

9. *The Development of Doctrine from the Early Middle Ages to the Reformation*, by JOHN S. BANKS, author of "The Development of Doctrine in the Early Church," "Scripture and its Witnesses," etc. This work is a continuation of the author's previous work on "The Development of Doctrine in the Early Church," and traces concisely the growth, or, rather, the variation of Scriptural doctrine, through the Middle Ages down to the Reformation, bringing under one view both the resemblances and the contrasts of these periods. The author divides the Middle Ages into two parts—that of 590-1073 A.D. and that of 1073-1200 A.D. In the former, the questions of adoption, procession of the Holy Spirit, predestination, the Lord's Supper and penance; in the latter, the power of the Church, the person of Christ, the Atonement, the Sacraments, sin and the fall, grace, other subjects connected with the Sacraments and the Church, and the decline of the teaching of the scholastics. The third part of the book treats of the principal doctrines discussed by the reformers, especially Luther, Melancthon and Calvin. He concludes by showing that although the teachings of the Church through the centuries referred to is diversified, there is, however, a continuity of doctrine which unites the past with the present, and that where there is doctrine "dogma" must follow. Indeed, no organization, religious or civil, can long exist without "dogma." But it is not the authority of "Protestant dogma that is in question, but the authority of Scripture teaching." It is to the "substance" the Church is "irrevocably committed." The work will prove valuable, not only to the theological student, but also to the intelligent laity. There is an excellent index.

10. *The Dawn of the Reformation*, by HERBERT B. WORKMAN, M.A., author of "The Church of the West in the Middle Ages." Vol. I. "The Age of Wyclif." The purpose of the author is to trace the various influences and forces, both within and without the Church, which produced the Reformation. He maintains that the dawn began long before Erasmus or Savonarola, or Luther or Cranmer. The five chapters of the book cover the subjects relating to the affairs of Church and State in the thirteenth century—Wyclif and the Schoolmen, Wyclif as a Politician and a Reformer, and the English Lollards. There are interesting appendices, but the index is reserved for the second volume. The work is a useful guide to students who desire to peruse larger histories on this important epoch of English history on Church and State.

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JOHN LONG; 6, CHANDOS STREET, STRAND, LONDON, 1901.

11. *On the Warpath: a Lady's Letters from the Front*, by MRS. J. D. LEATHER-CULLEY (Lady of Grace of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem). With sixteen illustrations. Mrs. Leather-Culley went to the war in South Africa with what are called "comforts" for hospital use among patients and nurses. A list of the nature of the stock or goods in her charge, their destination, manner of delivery, and the men, sisters, and hospitals bene-

fited is given in the form of an appendix. The book itself is a diary from time to time in the form of letters to a friend in England, written, as she graphically describes, "in all sorts of odd surroundings," "and is," as she modestly says, "scrappy and not always English." We cannot find much fault with her English, and what may "lack of grammar is made up in truth"—facts and adventures and hospital experiences as she found them. The book is racy and interesting, giving an insight into various matters which could not have been obtained from a formal narrative. The illustrations, except three, are taken by herself. Her experience in Ladybrand, and the gallant defence of the small garrison of about 150 men with *no* guns against 2,500 Boers, is graphic and thrilling. The authoress has come to the conclusion that clemency towards the enemy is worse than useless. She says: "I do hope an iron hand will soon grip the country. The gallant, kindly, open-hearted soldiers' day is over. Now, what we want is a hard, suspicious policeman, but, above all, a very *strong* man, a man above sentiment, above criticism, above even pity. You can't make a pudding without breaking eggs, then let us break theirs and not ours; let us hang without mercy a few traitors, and so save hundreds of honest men. I have brought two strong impressions down country with me: the first, that Mr. Atkins in hospital is the bravest, patientest, most thorough gentleman God ever made; the second, that lying is in the very atmosphere of South Africa, and the statement of an Africander about as real as the mirage on His native veldt." The publisher has done well in urging the authoress to publish her narrative as she wrote it, and "not to touch it up."

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LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.; LONDON, NEW YORK, AND BOMBAY, 1901.

12. *Magic and Religion*, by ANDREW LANG, author of "Myth, Ritual and Religion," "Custom and Myth," etc. This is a collection of essays, some of which have appeared in prominent periodicals, with respect to the study of early religion, ritual, magic and myth. The first essay is on "Science and Superstition," the second and third are designed to fortify the author's position as to the danger of allowing too "ingenious and imaginative hypotheses to lead captive our science." Mr. Lang lays down the thesis that the "earliest traceable form of religion was relatively high, and that it was inevitably lowered in tone during the process of social evolution." He supports this position by a great accumulation of facts drawn from the religious sentiments and worship of tribes throughout the uncivilized world. The fourth essay is a long and acute criticism of Mr. Frazer's many hypotheses, which are included in his theory of the origin, or partial origin, of the belief in the Divine character of Christ. The fifth examines "The Ghastly Priest," Mr. Frazer's theory of the Golden Bough of Virgil. The other essays in the volume discuss the subject of the "South African Religion," the "Cup and Ring" marks on rocks and cists, and other kindred subjects all over the world; also on "Taboos," with special reference to the theory of Mr. F. B. Jervons; also on the singular rite of the "Fire Walks," with the alleged immunity of the performers. This subject Mr. Lang had discussed before, but fresh

evidence is produced in this essay. There are interesting appendices on Mr. Tylor's theory of "Borrowing," "The Martyrdom of Dasius," "The Ride of the Beardless One," and a copious index of subjects and authors referred to. Mr. Lang explains magic as combining two main classes, one that "sort used by people who think that things accidentally like each other influence each other." For example, "you find a stone shaped like a yam, and you sow it in the yam plot." The other classes embrace "acts by spells which constrain spirits or gods to do the will of the magician." These two positions are minutely illustrated by examples, showing the "points of contrast and points of contact between magic and religion." In examining the theory that "magic" so explained gives rise to religious sentiment or worship, he stoutly advocates the opposite. Referring to the "South African religion," he agrees with Mr. Hartland: "Apparently it is claimed that the belief of a Supreme Being came in some way only to be guessed at, first in order of evolution, and was subsequently obscured and overlaid by belief in ghosts and in a pantheon of lesser divinities." Mr. Lang's discussion on "totemism" over the whole world is interesting, but does not add much to the elucidation of the theories reviewed in the work, nor does the work itself solve the problem. Assuming that the human race springs from one pair, and that pair from the hand of the Creator, the origin of religious sentiment, belief and worship, is a very simple problem.

13. *Armenia: Travels and Studies*, by H. F. B. LYNCH. In two volumes, with 197 illustrations reproduced from photographs and sketches by the author, numerous maps and plans, a bibliography, and a map of Armenia and adjacent countries. This remarkable work, with its correct maps and plans and beautiful photographs and sketches, consists of two very handsome volumes. Vol. I. embraces Armenia under Russia, Vol. II. under Turkey. We shall at present confine our observations to the former, reserving our notice of Vol. II. to our next issue. The ancient region of Armenia and its people, comparatively little known in modern times, are of great interest, and deserve the highest attention by naturalists, statesmen, travellers, theologians and scholars. As to the Armenians, the author says: "If I were asked what characteristics distinguish [them] from other Orientals, I should be disposed to lay most stress on a quality known in popular speech as *grit*. It is that quality to which they owe their preservation as a people, and they are not surpassed in this respect by any European nation. Their intellectual capacities are supported by a solid foundation of character, and, unlike the Greeks but like the Germans, their nature is averse to superficial methods; they become absorbed in their tasks and plant them deep. There is no race in the Nearer East more quick of learning than the Persian, yet should you be visited by a Persian gentleman accompanied by his Armenian man of business, take a book down from your shelves (better one with illustrations), and, the conversation turning upon some subject treated by its author, hand it to them after a passing reference. The Persian will look at the pictures, which he may praise; the Armenian will devour the book, and at each pause in the conversation you will see him poring over it with knitted brows. These

tendencies are naturally accompanied by forethought and balance, and they have given the Armenian his pre-eminence in commercial affairs. He is not less clever than the Greek, but he sees further, and although ingrained with the petty vices of all Oriental traders, the Armenian merchant is quick to appreciate the advantages of fair dealing when they are suggested by the conditions under which the vocation is pursued." Under Transcaucasia, which consists of seven Governments, the Armenian population in 1886 was 962,426 in a total population of 4,186,103. "The Armenians, being a commercial and industrial as well as an agricultural people, have spread themselves outside the natural limits of their country, attracted to the growing centres of industry upon its confines. They contribute a valuable and increasing element in the urban populations. But it is only when we have crossed the mountains which separate their highlands from the rest of Transcaucasia that we become conscious of treading upon Armenian soil . . . and bearing the imprint of their individuality to a greater degree than of any other race." Vol. I. consists of twenty-two chapters, giving minute descriptions of the author's travels from the coast of the Black Sea and its port, ascent to Armenia, to and at Akhaltsykh, Alexandropol, Erivan, Ararat, Ani, Kars, and valuable geographical, statistical, and political information on the whole of Russian Armenia. The plates and illustrations in the text are very numerous and exceedingly well executed, as also maps and plans. The author's interesting style of descriptions of places and scenery may be noted from what he says of Erivan: "Erivan is situated on the northern skirts of the Valley of the Middle Araxes—a valley distinguished by its important geographical situation, by the great works of natural architecture which are aligned upon it, and by the high place which it holds both in legend and in history as the scene of momentous catastrophes in the fortunes of the human race. The natural avenue from east to west across the tableland of Armenia, it gives easy access to the heart of Asia Minor from the shores of the Caspian Sea. The nations about and beyond the Caspian have found their way along this avenue to the coasts of the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, and while tradition connects these scenes with the site of Paradise, the bloody wars which they have witnessed have suggested to a graceful writer the appropriate recollection of the curse of the flaming sword. Along the line of the fortieth degree of latitude a succession of plains extend across the tableland, varying in their depression below the higher levels, watered by the Araxes and by the upper course of the Western Euphrates, and each giving access to the other by natural passages. The first is this Valley of the Araxes, with its more narrow continuation westwards through the district between Kagyzman and Khorasan; the second is the plain of Pasin; the third the plain of Erzerum. Yet while the plains of Pasin and of Erzerum are situated respectively at an altitude of 5,500 and 5,750 feet, the Valley of the Araxes in the neighbourhood of Erivan is only 2,800 feet above the sea. Both on the north and south of this considerable depression even the plainer levels of the tableland attain the imposing height of 7,000 feet, while its surface has been uplifted by volcanic action into long and irregular convexities of mountain and hill and hummock.

"On either side of the extensive plain which borders the course of the Middle Araxes rise mountains of astounding proportions and of large variety of form. Let us dwell for a moment on the character of the northern barrier, which closes the prospect from the slopes of Ararat at a distance of from thirty to fifty miles. The immense bulk of Alagöz extends across the horizon from the longitude of Ararat to the districts adjoining the left bank of the Arpa Chai. In that direction the mass occupies a space of about forty miles, rising from the level tracts through which the Araxes flows to a height of over 13,000 feet and inclined from north of east to south of west. The snowy fangs of the shattered crater are situated a little west of the longitude of the dome of Ararat; from those peaks the outline of the mountain is shadowed on either side in an almost horizontal bar. On the west the streams of molten matter have met with little resistance to their onward flow; the eastern slopes have been confined by the bulwark of the border ranges, and are of comparatively insignificant extent. Where the base gathers beyond the river is a distance from the slopes of Ararat of about thirty-five miles; the two summits are nearly sixty miles apart. Yet so large is the scale of this colossal mountain, and so even the surface of the intervening plain, that, seen through the clear atmosphere of an Eastern climate, it fills the eye with its huge presence, sweeping the valley with massive foundations, and drawn across the sky in a long and rounded bank, broken only by the trident of shining peaks.

"Such is the character, to a point about north of Ararat, of the northern wall of this Valley of the Araxes—the length of a single mountain—an unbroken barrier from west to east. At that point the mass of Alagöz meets the spurs of the border ranges, and its base mingles with the base of the volcanic elevations which rise along their inner edge. These elevations continue the wall of mountain eastwards, but incline it towards the south; they come forward in front of the giant volcano and narrow the plain. Yet so gradual is the transition that it is scarcely perceptible, until the eye is awakened by the change in the sky-line, so even before, so restless now, fretted by the shapes of cones and little craters which, behind the soft convexities of flanking outworks, feature the chain which separates the basin of Lake Sevan from the waters which wash the base of Ararat.

"On the southern side of the great plain there is a remarkable correspondence with the northern border in the constitution of the mountain masses and an interesting difference in the manner in which they are disposed. On the north you have first a single mountain and then a mountain system; on the south the line commences with a mountain system and ends with a single mass. On the north the mountain system steps out in advance of the mountain; on the south, by a happy reversal of the order, the mountain stands forward alone. Alagöz and the belt south of Lake Sevan are answered by the Ararat system and by the fabric of Ararat."

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SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON AND CO.; LONDON.

14. *Letters received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East.* Transcribed from the "Original Correspondence" Series of the India Office Records. Vol. V., 1617 (January to June). Edited by WILLIAM FOSTER, B.A. Published under the patronage of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India in Council. This volume is full of interest, with reference to our initiation of trade in Persia, in Japan, and other regions in the East. There is an admirable introduction, giving the substance of the numerous letters and despatches, which indicate the adventures of our merchants and sailors, and their resolute determination not to be outdone by the Dutch or Portuguese. There is also a very carefully-prepared index.

15. *Golden Tips: a Description of Ceylon and its Great Tea Industry,* by HENRY W. CAVE, M.A., F.R.G.S., author of "The Ruined Cities of Ceylon," "Colombo and the Kelani Valley," "Kandy and Peradeniya," "Nuwara Eliya and Adam's Peak." The tour of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York, and the glowing accounts of Ceylon sent home by the correspondents who accompany them, have imparted fresh interest to everything connected with the island, and to this we doubtless owe in some measure Mr. Cave's intention to issue a cheaper edition of his latest work upon it. We may be sure, to judge by the reprint of the author's "Ruined Cities of Ceylon," that economy, in Messrs. Sampson Low's hands, will not mean a falling-off in merit. In the new edition, indeed, which will be ready next month, the matter has been revised throughout, and will contain 234 illustrations. Mr. Cave's photographs certainly deserve the very best treatment available, for they are eminently artistic, and give a most vivid idea of the scenes they represent, admirably eking out the text. No one who has not been in Ceylon can adequately realize its beauties, but this book brings them home to the reader as far as it is possible for black and white to do so. Mr. Cave, unable within the limits of the volume to describe the whole of the island's attractions, has confined himself to a sketch of the pick of them, a selection which he has called "Golden Tips" after "the *crème de la crème* of Ceylon tea." Having first shown us the panorama of the island from the deck of a steamer off the Colombo coast, and driven us round the "Clapham Junction of the East," explaining its motley aspects on the way, the author takes us up the incomparably picturesque mountain railway to Kandy, the beautifully situated ancient capital. Here he plans a series of excursions into the heart of the country, which afford him the opportunity of pointing out its salient features to us. Of tea, naturally given a prominent place in his descriptions of the planting districts, he says: "Everything, it will be observed, is done to avoid handling the tea. Indeed, from the bush to the tea-table such methods of pure cleanliness are observed as scarcely any other food manufacture can claim; and especially do these methods of Ceylon tea manufacture stand in contrast to those of China, where the primitive operations employed are such that the stomach would rebel against a detailed description" (p. 168)—facts which every tea-drinker

ought to know. Mr. Cave shows us over the golf-links at the Sanatorium, treats us to a run with the hounds after a sambur, or lets us from the World's End "gaze straight down the sheer side of the mountain upon another world five thousand feet below" (p. 249). We climb with him to the summit of Adam's Peak, and behold thence, framed against the sky, the mountain's conical shadow (p. 133), which his camera and brush bring strikingly before us. He tells us of the planter at work and play, of the products he cultivates, of the coolies he superintends, of the bracing hill climate and of a hundred other things, passing naturally from one subject to another and never letting our interest flag.

The following passage will give an idea of the style: "The first glimmer of light reveals snowy masses of mist as far as the eye can scan, right away to the ocean east and west, with lighted peaks peering through the veil resembling laughing islands dotting a sea of foam. Then as the day breaks a golden tint gradually appears over the hills, and when the sun bursts over the horizon a rapid transformation takes place. The petrified surf of the mists now begins to move upwards, and reveals with vivid clearness the valleys fresh from their repose. The dewy leaves of the forest trees and the trails of beautiful moss which cling to their branches glisten with tints of gold, the moistened rocks sparkle with diamonds, and all nature rejoices at the new-born day" (p. 224). Those who have stood upon the highest point of the island at dawn will recognise the accuracy of the picture.

After leaving the highlands to glance at a fertile valley in the low-country, Mr. Cave sets out across the northern forests, past the monumental irrigation works constructed two thousand years ago, to Trincomali, the splendid natural harbour which forms the headquarters of the East Indies squadron; thence he takes the steamer to the peninsula in the extreme north, where we find an entirely different climate, productions and people, and on the way back to Colombo lands at Rameseram to visit the famous temple. A last trip along the south coast ends the book, all too soon.

C.

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LUZAC AND CO.; 46, GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON, 1901.

16. *The "Tadhkiratu sh shu'arâ" of Dawlatshâh bin 'Alâ'u d dawla Bakhtishâh al Ghâzi of Samarqand.* Edited in the original Persian with prefaces and indices by EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.B., M.R.A.S., Fellow of Pembroke College, and Lecturer in Persian in the University of Cambridge. That the series of Persian Historical Texts, of which this volume is the first instalment, may be continued is the first wish which naturally occurs to the reader. Mr. Browne is certainly to be congratulated upon the result of his labours so far, and also upon his wise choice of this particular work to commence upon. Written in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, towards the close of the long and prosperous reign of Sultân Husain Mirza, a descendant of Tamurlane, it contains a vast amount of curious information on a variety of subjects bearing upon the social and political, as well as the literary, history of Central Asia, during



the period of convulsion which separates the ancient world of letters from the modern.

Its author was a man of noble birth, who preferred a peaceful life on his own estate, where he could gratify his tastes for study and reflection, to the anxieties and vicissitudes of a political career. He was evidently a great reader of books and an assiduous collector of personal anecdotes, and, though of a retiring disposition, was on familiar terms with the leading men of his time and country. As an author he is certainly most discursive, but nearly always entertaining. Although upon rare occasions, as if to prove that the grand style was not beyond his power, he indulges himself in long paragraphs of high-flown words such as were dear to the age he lived in, as a rule he writes with ease and elegance, and there are some passages of graphic narrative in his book which could hardly be excelled. It is pre-eminently a work which whets the reader's appetite for further information, and upon that ground alone it is fitted to be for the student a much better text-book than the "Anwāri Suhaili," which has given so many beginners a *distaste* for Persian literature. It is to be hoped that Mr. Browne will shortly fulfil his intention of publishing, in a supplementary volume, his critical and explanatory notes on the text, whether in English or in Persian. In the present volume his aim has been, not so much to encourage students as to gratify scholars, by the presentation to them of a critically edited and thoroughly accurate text. He appeals to the Asiatic not less than to the European reader of Persian literature. But in India, at all events, there are many readers of Persian who would welcome the help of notes, in reading a work like that of Daulat Shah, as much as an English student. A glossary of the Turkish words that occur in the book would, at any rate, be a boon. And we should greatly like to see the work accompanied by a good map, which would also be found useful, and would be appreciated, by Indian scholars. To English students of the language, even of advanced knowledge, an explanation of many technical terms, and especially of those used in describing the disciplinary practices of the Sufis, would be of great service. Mr. Browne, with the scholarly instincts and traditions of Cambridge, has undertaken the editing of Daulat Shah in much the same spirit as Porson would have undertaken the editing of Herodotus. It was only at the last moment that he was compelled by the publishers to prefix a title-page in English, and was thus induced to add a short English preface to the work. His real preface is in Persian, and addressed to the Persian reading public. We trust that it will receive due commendation in Persian literary circles:

"Wā-e bar qadr e sukhan k'ú ba sukhandán na rasad"!

Meanwhile it would be ungracious not to recognise the advantage which this edition possesses over all Oriental publications, not only in the correctness of the text, but in carefully prepared indices of the names of persons, places and books mentioned in the text. As was inevitable, there are a few misprints, but it is wonderful how few they are. At page 210 there appears to be an error in the text, where Shihábuddín Saharwardí is described as "Abú Hafas" instead of "Abú Ja'fir," by confusion with

Shihábuddín Nasafí, to whom, by the way, Beale gives the prænomén of *Najmuddín* instead of Shihábuddín. A matter of minor importance, but still worth a hint, is that the otherwise excellent paper on which the text is printed is very heavy, so that the book is of a weight out of proportion to its size. It is so interesting that one would like to read it comfortably seated in an armchair.

G. E. W.

MADRAS, S.P.C.K. DEPOT; SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, HAMILTON, KENT  
AND CO.; LONDON, 1901.

17. *Essays on Islám*, by the REV. E. SELL, B.D., M.R.A.S., author of "The Faith of Islám," "The Historical Development of the Quran." In this work of about 270 pages Mr. Sell takes up a series of topics relating to the religion of the Prophet of Arabia. He treats of the Mystics, the Bábis, the religious orders, etc. The subjects he takes up, though all on the general theme of Islámism, are not necessarily linked on to one another in a consecutive chain. Each treatment is complete in itself, yet all the subjects he takes up are important as contributions to the study of the faith of Islám. The chapters that have most of present-day interest are those on Bábism (in which we have an interesting account of the origin and history of the religion of the Báb), the Druses of Lebanon (in which we have a more or less biographical account of that unaccountable personage "the Mad Khalífa" of Egypt), and the planting and growth of Islámism in China. That will be of interest to the general reader as indicating the more popular aspects of the book. The more special and non-popular subjects of the volume are the Recensions of the Quran, the Mystics and Religious Orders of Islám, the dissertation on the Hanífs, and the status of the Zimmis (or payers of the poll-tax to Islám in countries where it is in the ascendant). The book is printed in Madras, and contains a great deal of Arabic and Persian letter-press, which may render the work attractive to those who are familiar with these languages. Its chief use, however, will be to missionaries engaged in religious work among Muhammadans, whether in India or in other lands. They will find it helpful as a work of reference, and on this account the absence of any sort of index will be felt to be a drawback. The author is doing commendable work in putting forth volumes on kindred subjects, with which his name has been so long and so honourably connected. Speaking generally, the ignorance which Indian missionaries display in regard to the somewhat difficult subject of Muhammadanism is quite phenomenal. The missionary, on arrival, speedily discovers that the religion of the people of India does not all of it come under the head of "Idolatry," and that a very considerable proportion of his audiences as he preaches in the public thoroughfares consists of men who go a long way towards agreement with the history with which the Bible makes us acquainted. The names which the missionary uses, the facts which he seeks to promulgate, in great measure the very dogmas which he inculcates, are already admitted by some sixty millions of the people of India. Hence the grounds of appeal, which are fitting enough when placed before the Hindú mind, are entirely out of

place when presented to the understanding of the Muhammadan. The missionary is, therefore, under the necessity of making himself familiar with the Muhammadan standpoint, and learning why it is that a man, who admits so much that is also admitted by both Jew and Christian, withholds entirely his assent to the essentials of the Christian doctrine, and resents every attempt to persuade him to adopt it. What is the nature of this objection to the Christian faith, and what is the historical basis of that objection? The Christian propagandist speedily learns, if he but apply himself to the study of these interesting people, that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are believed by the followers of Muhammad to have been tampered with and interpolated by Jews and Christians, and that they have been abrogated by Divine authority, Muhammad having been constituted by God the supercessor of Jesus and the Quran the supercessor of the Scriptures. These startling discoveries bring the undertaking of the missionary before his mind in a new light, and if he is at all the fit man for his work, he will set himself to the task of understanding the theological attitude of the Muhammadan. A field of absorbing interest thus opens up before him, and it is at this point that the works of Mr. Sell come to his aid. As a book for the assistance of persons of the missionary class, whether in India or in any other land, this volume will be found to be helpful and trustworthy. It is not, however, a *complete* repertory of facts and arguments, but it is sufficient to fit out the student missionary in the several subjects of which it treats. Beyond persons of the missionary class, however, there are very few for whom this volume would have any attraction or any practical value.—B.

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HORACE MARSHALL AND SON; LONDON, 1901.

18. *Australian Federation*, by SIR JOHN A. COCKBURN, K.C.M.G., M.D., with a preface by the RIGHT HON. SIR CHARLES W. DILKE, BART., M.P. This is a convenient small volume containing a life sketch by a former Prime Minister of South Australia, now the Agent-General of the Colony. Sir John, by articles and speeches, gave the progressive phases of the movement from the proposal to establish the temporary structure of the Federal Council up to the time when that body was superseded by the completely-equipped Commonwealth. The departments surrendered by the States have been rapidly transferred, and the Parliament constituted consisting of King, Senate, and House of Representatives. The Federal tariff will be brought into existence in January next, and a perusal of the present volume with the example of Canada and other colonies will, no doubt, best bring about a wise and an amicable solution.

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METHUEN AND CO.; LONDON, 1901.

19. *Sir Harry Parkes in China*, by STANLEY LANE-POOLE. The startling events which have recently directed the eyes of the world upon China amply justify the re-issue in new form of Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole's excellent biography. So far as the present writer can recollect, it is practically the same work as that issued a few years ago, but annotated by the light of

recent inquiry, and brought up to date. The publishers are to be congratulated on the handy size of the volume, which, moreover, is printed on such beautifully light paper that it is possible to hold the book for hours together comfortably between two fingers of one hand. To one who knows nothing of the Chinese people, the story of how a lad of thirteen worked his way up by sheer honesty and energy of purpose to the highest official position, ultimately leaving his indelible mark upon the history of two Far Eastern empires, must be as thrilling and absorbing as a sensational novel. To one who has been over most of the sites and seen most of the persons described, the edge of appetite is unavoidably taken off, and there is, of course, much that seems trite and threadbare; but Sir Harry Parkes' biographer has woven in his materials with so much judgment and sense of proportion, not to say fairness, that the mind is never fatigued by the contemplation of a fustian hero. All is natural and life-like; Sir Harry's character is correctly brought out in proper relief, and we are not asked to bow ourselves down to the genius of perfection. He was a moderately educated, wholesome-minded, God-fearing Englishman; full of restless, irrepressible energy; anxious to succeed, but not impatiently or enviously ambitious; loyal alike to superiors and subordinates; undisciplined in his arrangement of time and work; intolerant of idleness, luxury, false pretence, and ease; and thoroughly zealous and straightforward in his loyal efforts for his country's good. The story is diversified and enlivened by some excellent character sketches; for instance, that of the "humbug" Gutzlaff on page 39, and the somewhat boneless Lord Elgin on page 203; it is presumed that these strong opinions are intended to represent those held at the times mentioned by Sir Harry himself. We get glimpses, too, of Gordon, Archdeacon Gray, Sir Thomas Wade, and other well-known characters who have trodden the China stage; but it is curious to observe that Sir Robert Hart is scarcely so much as once mentioned. There could not be two characters more different than those of Sir Robert Hart and Sir Harry Parkes, and Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole acts with proper delicacy in not bringing them before us in strong contrast; but there is no reason whatever to suppose that they did not get on together with all mutual respect. After all, we must take men (including ourselves) as we find them. Each distinguished public servant must be assumed to act for the best according to his temperament and his lights. Sir Harry affords us many opportunities of judging what he thought of himself. "Indolence is my besetting sin" is rather an unexpected thing to read in the "confessions" of so unwearied a worker, who also came to the conclusion that "the point in which I am miserably weak and deficient" was want of diligence to learn, and capacity to form his own mind. Sir Harry Parkes' most striking, though, perhaps, not the most solid, services to his country were undoubtedly those rendered during his captivity in Peking. The hopefulness, pluck, and resourcefulness of the man are here brought out to the full. It is a matter of congratulation that his biographer has throughout managed to steer clear of those technical errors which are apt to mar the work of most home authors when engaged upon the treacherous sandbanks of Oriental history. There are no "silly" errors anywhere

observable in Mr. Poole's conscientious work ; he has shown great sagacity in making sure of everything before essaying to define it or to express an opinion upon it. So far as perfection is reasonably possible in a biography written by a man personally unfamiliar with the scenes he describes, the author under notice may be said to have gained the maximum number of marks. Mr. Michie has recently recalled our attention to a meritorious official of equal rank who was in danger of being totally forgotten ; there was no such risk of Sir Harry Parkes' noble services ever being consigned to oblivion. In the one case our insouciant notice is particularly requested to the stately march across the arena of a fine wattled old turkey ; in the other a game bantam, whose career has always been distinguished for attention to the quality of his fighting spurs rather than care for his external plumage and paces, is exhibited to us critically with all his familiar points explained by a master-hand. It is to be hoped that before long someone will do the same thing for Sir Thomas Wade, who was in character somewhat of a cross between Sir Rutherford and Sir Harry, and may, indeed, be said to have contributed not a little to the making of both.

—E. H. PARKER.

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NEWUL KISHORE PRESS ; LUCKNOW, 1901.

20. *English and Hindustani Etiquette*, by MIRZA HABIB HOSAIN, B.A., Second Assistant-Master, Colvin Taluqdar's School, Lucknow. With the exception of a few pages of English the whole of this work (consisting of some 228 pages) is in the Urdú language ; it is, therefore, of no practical use on this side of the world. To English people it is a sealed book. In point of subject-matter the work only treats of "etiquette" of a sort ; it gives examples of letters containing invitations to dinner-parties, to dances, to the opening of public buildings, and such-like functions. It is not a work on "English" etiquette, as the title of it might lead one to suppose ; it is, rather, a work intended to teach young Indians how to frame their correspondence when they desire to make way with English officials. In respect of scope, therefore, it is too narrow for its title ; a more suitable title should have been chosen, and being in Urdú, and written by a Muhammadan, the Hindú, intensely conservative as he is, would not willingly adopt it for his guidance. A scheme of etiquette that would be accepted by the one race would meet with but a cold reception at the hands of the other. The commencing of it with a quotation from the Quran is a breach of etiquette which could only awaken the indignation and disgust of any orthodox and self-respecting Hindú. This is a most grave error of judgment on the part of the compiler.

We have said that the scope of the work is too limited for its title, for of etiquette in the broad and true sense of the term it says not a single word. Nor, indeed, *could* it, for "the lady" is nowhere in this book. A social system that ignores *her* is like the play of "Hamlet" with the part of Hamlet left out. In all communities of people claiming to be "civilized," the etiquette of social and domestic life depends more upon the lady of the house than upon its master. Indians are ever complaining of the

"aloofness" of English people. They will *continue* to do so as long as the lady of the Indian household is not permitted to receive her husband's guests, to preside at her own table, or even to set eyes on those who call at the house. And this being so, what wonder if English ladies do not feel themselves bound to receive the calls of Indian gentlemen? The Indian gentleman never seems to understand where the barrier lies, and that the difficulty is entirely of his own creating. The "aloofness" he complains of is on *his* side, not on the side of his English acquaintance. Not a single word do we find in the work on this the essential aspect of true etiquette. The word is used by the compiler in its very narrowest and most restricted sense. He has in view but one half (the "lesser" half!) of the population of his fellow-country people. He writes as an Indian for *Indians*, whose etiquette is a style by itself.

The details of the etiquette of two peoples so very wide asunder as the English and the Indians are interesting enough as a study in Socialism, but for the Indian to copy the etiquette of the Englishman is, if the truth must be spoken, as ludicrous as for the English to copy the etiquette of the Indian; the two systems of etiquette are as wide apart in respect of the details as the languages of Hindustán are from the languages of the British Isles. Of course, *all* true etiquette is in principle the same; it has its seat in genuine kindness of heart and a charitable consideration for the predilections and convenience of others. But while this is surely the case, yet in the *details* of etiquette the principle works out as differently between the two peoples (the Indian and the English) as the details of their languages.

The compiler has written this work mainly for the instruction of such of his fellow-countrymen as have been taught the English language, and who desire to obtain a place in the society of English people in India. It is, therefore, unfortunate that he should have made such mistakes in his English composition. He exhibits all the usual weakness of the English educated Indian in respect of the use of the articles (definite and indefinite). When, again, in one and the same sentence he three times misspells so well-known a word as "trowsers," the mistake is not the compositor's. In a work of such pretensions as the one now under notice, such blemishes are more than usually noticeable. We do not anticipate that this work will find any favour in this country. To be of any interest to English people, whether in this country or in India, it would need to be translated into our mother-tongue; and exhibiting as it does the peculiar foibles of the English educated Muhammadan of India, the reading of it would then be an amusing pastime for persons to whom time is of no particular value.—B.

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SWAN SONNENSCHN AND CO., LIMITED, LONDON; THE MACMILLAN COMPANY, NEW YORK, 1901.

21. *The Land of the Moors: a Comprehensive Description*, by BUDGETT MEAKIN, for some years editor of the *Times of Morocco*, author of the "Moorish Empire," etc. With eighty-three illustrations and a map. This handsome volume is dedicated to Sir Henry Moreton Stanley, and other

travellers past and future, who may yet contribute information on North-Western Africa. The author, having acquired a knowledge of the vernacular, in the guise of a Moor explored a large portion of the country, and hence the information contained in the volume is thoroughly reliable, and will prove highly instructive and useful to travellers and students. The first portion embraces the physical features of the country, as minerals, vegetable products, and animal life. The second portion refers to the forms of government and other political topics. The third contains a record of his experience as to the manners, habits, and customs of the people. There are minute indices of persons, places, and subjects. His advice to travellers is to assume the native dress, which will bring them more thoroughly in touch with the people, and enable them to pass among them unobserved, and even to enter their shrines and other sacred places. He says: "Each evening quite an enthusiastic crowd used to gather round my tent door—only Kaid and Sheikhs got inside—to sip there friendly cups of green tea syrup in approved native style, and each vied with the other, as occasion offered, to initiate me into the rites of Muhammadanism. As for improving my Arabic, that was by no means forgotten, and many a score of words were thus added to the goodly stock in my ever-ready note-book. Oh that I could introduce you who read this into that picturesque circle! What times we had! Inside the cosy quarters for the night, a bright, warm light, with a group of Moors round the tea-tray; outside a large group warming their hands at the charcoal embers as they diligently use the bellows to hasten the boiling of our tiny kettle for the sixth or seventh time. The darkness beyond is deepened by the ruddy glow which flickers on their faces. The expression of their swarthy features is intensified as they listen with rapt attention to some thrilling tale or would-be words of wisdom from the lips of the village sage, or the description of some wonder of 'Nazarene Land,' which the traveller tells. *That's* the way to pick up Arabic, and how to get acquainted with the Moors!"

22. *Madagascar, Mauritius, and the other East African Islands*, by PROFESSOR DR. C. KELLER. With three coloured maps and sixty-four illustrations. The English reader is indebted to Mr. H. A. Nesbit for the excellent translation of this admirable and important work. There is probably no existing volume which gives such a complete and trustworthy account by personal travel of Madagascar, the Mascarenes, and the smaller islands of the ocean in the East and South-East of Africa. This East African Island World even to-day—its history, its natural beauty, its products, its peoples, and fauna—are little known to the English reader. Although the author's intention in his explorations was to investigate questions of natural science, he has discussed matters of a social and political character which are extremely instructive and interesting. He points out that "the plants and animals of Madagascar are especially remarkable, and the island is uncommonly rich in strongly specialized forms, indigenous only in this region. The animals, for example, are so peculiar and so different from those of Africa and Asia that Madagascar might well be treated as forming a zoological region of its own." The illustra-

tions are extremely interesting and well executed. The index of subjects, persons, places, and things is minute and useful. The future development of this Eastern region depends chiefly on the wise and energetic colonial administration of France. The volume, however, is of much value to the English traveller and to English trade and commerce, more especially in view of the increasing influence of European Powers in Africa and the East.

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THACKER, SPINK AND CO., CALCUTTA, 1901; JOHN MURRAY,  
LONDON.

23. *A Handbook for Travellers in India, Burma and Ceylon, including the Provinces of Bengal, Bombay, and Madras, the Punjab, North-West Provinces, Rajputana, Central Provinces, Mysore, etc., the Native States, Assam and Cashmere.* Fourth edition. With seventy-four maps and plans. This edition has been thoroughly revised by competent writers, and contains much valuable information, not only as a guide-book, but also as to the religion of the people, architecture, arts, irrigation, distribution of British and native troops, chronology, maps of rainfall, temperature, and land products. There are seventy-four beautifully-executed maps and plans. In short, it is a most useful volume of reference, as well as a guide-book for travellers.

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T. FISHER UNWIN; PATERNOSTER SQUARE, LONDON, 1901.

24. *In Tibet and Chinese Turkestan; being the Record of Three Years' Exploration,* by CAPTAIN H. H. P. DEASY, late 16th Queen's Lancers. Captain Deasy has given in this volume a detailed record of his explorations in regions seldom visited by Europeans. It abounds in numerous illustrations of persons and places, with a carefully prepared map of his journeys. The numerous tables of latitudes, longitudes, and magnetic declinations of his various camps are interesting, and will be of much use to travellers who may follow Captain Deasy's track.

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#### OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

*Parliamentary Reports Relating to India from 1766 to 1900* (P. S. King and Son, Orchard House, Great Smith Street, Westminster). Messrs. King, having been appointed agents for the sale of the publications of the Government of India and of the India Office, have prepared this useful catalogue, alphabetically arranged according to subjects. Official reports, printed in Calcutta by the Government printers, may also be obtained from Messrs. King.

*Proceedings of the Council of the Governor of Bombay, Assembled for the purpose of making Laws and Regulations*, 1899, vol. xxxvii. (Published by the authority of His Excellency the Governor, Bombay; printed at the Government Central Press, 1901.) These important Proceedings, including Bills and speeches, cover the period from January 25 to September 27, 1899. There are also important appendices and notices. The Bills



include the Bombay Port Forest Act, 1879; the Khoti Settlement Act, 1880; the Bombay Ābkāri Act, 1878; the City of Bombay Act on the adulteration of ghee and other articles of food; grant to special occupancies in certain Government lands in Sind; the management of municipal affairs in Mofussil towns and cities.

*Carte du Kiang-Nan (Provinces du Kiang-Sou et du Nyan-Hoei).* The Shanghai Jesuits have just issued a new map of the region of which Nanking is the centre. It may be added here that when China was divided into two empires (400-600), the Tartars, or northerners, used to talk of "the Kiang-Nan Ambassador or Court" in speaking of the purely Chinese Empire having its capital at Nanking.

The new map is based on that of the seventeenth-century Jesuits, and also on the Yangtze map of the British Admiralty, both corrected by the light of recent observations of Père Chevalier, S.J., and of the literary researches of Père Havret, S.J. The map covers a surface of about four square feet.

*The Story of the (Osmanli) Turkish Version, with a Brief Account of Related Versions,* by the REV. A. A. COOPER, M.A. (the British and Foreign Bible Society). A very interesting, if not romantic, story of the various versions of the Bible in Turkish and Græco-Turkish from the long-forgotten MSS. of Ali Bey in 1666, down to the efforts of the latest Version Committee of the present year. Such committees were appointed in 1873-1878, 1881-1884, 1883-1885, 1888, and 1899-1901. The great difficulty was to have a version that would be intelligible to the various races with different dialects under Turkish rule. The versions now produced are Osmanli-Turkish, Armeno-Turkish, Græco-Turkish, and Tartar-Turkish. The English and American Bible Societies have been working most cordially together in producing this version, their sole desire being to have versions as correct as possible in a style suitable to all classes of the Turkish Empire.

*Note on Topographical Work in Chinese Turkestan,* by DR. M. A. STEIN (from the *Geographical Journal* for April, 1901). Dr. Stein considers that "this survey will complete the long-sought-for connection of Khotan with the trigonometrical system of the Indian surveys, and render the exact determination of its position possible."

*Archæological Discoveries in the Neighbourhood of the Niya River,* by DR. M. A. STEIN (from the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, July, 1901) (Hertford: printed by Stephen Austin and Sons.) In Dr. Stein's explorations of ancient sites around Khotan, and in the Taklamakan, he made some remarkable discoveries. He says: "From one ancient rubbish-heap there were documents of all sorts on writing material little suspected among a Buddhist and Indian-speaking population. About two dozen of Kharoshthi documents on parchment, mostly dated and apparently of official nature, prove that the Buddhists of this region had as little objection to the use of leather for writing purposes as the pious Brahmans of old Kashmir had to the leather bindings of their cherished Sanskrit codices."

*The Netherlands South African Railway Company from the Point of View of International Law,* by Sir W. H. RATTIGAN, K.C., author of *De Jure*

*Personarum, Science of Jurisprudence, Private International Law*, etc. (Wildy and Sons, Lincoln's Inn Archway, Carey Street, London, W.C.). This pamphlet contains a very careful and able exposition of the principles of modern international law, applicable to the action and position of the Netherlands South African Railway. There is undoubted evidence that the company, by their agents and connivance of its shareholders, used every effort in their power on behalf of the Boers. Sir William Rattigan sums up the whole question in a nutshell. He says: "The company, through its responsible manager, chose to throw in its lot with the South African Republics, in the hope that it would further its interest to do so; and having deliberately adopted this hostile policy towards the British Government, by actively identifying itself with the late Republics, it must accept the consequences, and it has no ground of just complaint to urge against the enforcement by the British Government of its legitimate right of capture."

*The Aborigines' Friend (Journal of the Aborigines Protection Society*, July, 1901). This number contains very valuable information, on a variety of subjects, relating to protection of the interests of the natives in the Congo Free State, in South Africa, West Africa, Zanzibar and Pemba, Australia and Fiji. The efforts of the society are exceedingly valuable when so many changes, political and others, are being made from time to time.

*Souvenir of the Home-coming of the South African Contingent of the Volunteer Battalion Devonshire Regiment*, by ERNEST CROFT, secretary and manager of the *Western Morning News*. This souvenir, nicely got up, illustrated by incidents which this battalion experienced in the South African War, and their enthusiastic reception home in Plymouth and Exeter, was presented gratis to the men and others. It contains also an interesting record of the part taken by the battalion.

*The Blessing of the Waters on the Eve of the Epiphany* (London: Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press Warehouse. New York: 91 and 93, Fifth Avenue, 1901). This service, printed in a neat and clear type, is produced according to the Greek, Latin, Syriac, Coptic, and Russian versions. The Latin is by the late Marquess of Bute, the rest for him, and with his help in part, by E. A. Wallis Budge, M.A., Litt.D., D.Lit. The comparison of the various versions is interesting.

Specimen pages and illustrations of a grand set of volumes (eight in number) of the *Queen Victoria Memorial Volumes*, only one hundred copies, by subscription. Messrs. William Hutchinson and Co., Trafalgar Buildings, Charing Cross, London. (See advertisement.)

*The Story of Newfoundland*, by F. E. SMITH ("Story of the Empire Series") (London: Horace Marshall and Son). A small but handy book—in fact, it is a *multum in parvo*. *The Aitareya and Taittiri'ya Upanishads, and Sri Sankara's Commentary*, translated by S. SITARAMA SASTRI, B.A., published by V. C. Seshacharri, B.A., etc., Vakil High Court, Madras. Fifth volume (Madras: G. A. Natesan and Co., printers, 1901). *The Authorship of the Piyadosi Inscriptions*, by VINCENT A. SMITH, M.R.A.S., reprinted from the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, July, 1901). The author, after an elaborate examination, concludes that all the inscriptions were issued by Rōga Pryadosi, and belonged to one period.

We beg to acknowledge also the receipt of: George Newnes, Ltd., *The Captain* for July, August and September — *The Wide World Magazine* for July, August and September; — *The Sunday Strand* for July, August and September — *The Strand Magazine* for July, August and September — *The Life of a Century*, 1800 to 1900, Parts 9 to 11; — *Royalties of the World*, Parts 7 to 12; — *Britannia's Bulwarks*, Parts 4 to 8; — *The Indian Review* for June, July and August (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras); — *Minerva, Rivista delle Riviste* (Rome); — *Biblia*, a monthly journal of Oriental research (Meriden, Conn., U.S.A.); — *The Contemporary Review* (London: The Columbus Co., Ltd., Fetter Lane); — *The Indian Magazine and Review* (London: A. Constable and Co.); — *Le Bulletin des Sommaires, revue de la presse* (Paris); — *Public Opinion*, the American weekly (New York); — *The Living Age* (Boston, U.S.A.); — *The Monist* (The Open Court Publishing Co., Chicago, U.S.A., and Kegan Paul and Co., London); — *Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.); — *The Canadian Gazette* (London); — *The Harvest Field* (Foreign Missions Club, London); — *Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London); — *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.); — *The Light of Truth, or Siddhanta Deepika* (Black Town, Madras); — *The Madras Review*; — *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, continuing "Hebraica" (University of Chicago Press); — *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (Alfred Hölder, Vienna); — *Canadian Journal of Fabrics* (Toronto and Montreal); — *The Canadian Engineer* (Toronto: Biggar, Samuel and Co.); — *The Review of Reviews*; — *The Kayastha Samacher*, a monthly record and review, edited by Sachchidananda Sinha, B.A.L. (The Imperial Press, Allahabad); — *The Imperial Institute Journal* (Waterlow and Sons, Ltd., London); — *The Cornhill*; — *The Zoophilist and Animals' Defender*; — *Journal of the United Service Institution of India*, July, 1901, vol. xxx., No. 144 (Government Printing Office, Simla); — *Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India*, vol. xxxiii., Part I. (Kegan Paul, London; The Registrar, Geological Survey of India, Calcutta); — *Studien zur Altindischen und Vergleichenden Sprachgeschichte*, by Evald Liden; — *Nirvāna, en religionshistorisk undersökning*, by J. A. Eklund; — *Studier öfver den Judiska församlingens uppkomst*, by J. Walles (Upsala), and Otto Harrassowitz (Leipzig); *Climate*.

We regret that want of space obliges us to postpone reviews of the following works till our next issue: *Le Rig-Veda, texte et traduction, neuvième Mandala, Le culte védique du Soma*, by Paul Regnaud, Professor of the University of Lyon (Paris: J. Maisonneuve, libraire-editeur, 6, Rue de Mézières, et 26, Rue Madame, 1900); — *My Fourth Tour in Western Australia*, by Albert F. Calvert, second edition (Dean and Son, Ltd., 160A, Fleet Street, E.C., 1901); — *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, Showing the Operations, Expenditures, and Condition of the Institution for the Year ending June 30, 1897*; *Ditto, for the Year ending June 30, 1899* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901); — also *A Manual of Pushtu*, by Captain G. Roos-Keppel, C.I.E., etc., Political Officer Khyber Pass, and Qazi Abdul Ghani Khan, Munshi of Peshawur, assisted by Sahibzada Abdul Qayum, K.B., 1901; also *A Short Sketch of the Lives of Francis and William Light, the Founders of*

*Penang and Adelaide*, by A. Francis Steuart, advocate, 1901 (London : Sampson Low, Marston, and Co.) ;—*A Grammar of the Classical Arabic Language, Translated and Compiled from the Works of the most Approved Native or Naturalized Authorities*, by Mortimer Sloper Howell, C.I.E., hon. LL.D. (Edin.), published under the authority of the Government, North-West Provinces, in an introduction and four parts ; the introduction and Part I.—the Noun (Allahabad : North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press, 1900) ;—*Australasia Old and New*, by J. Grattan Grey, author of "His Island Home," etc. ; also *Irene Petrie, Missionary to Kashmir*, by Mrs. Ashley Carus-Wilson, B.A. (London : Hodder and Stoughton, 27, Paternoster Row, 1900) ;—*In the Far East*, letters from Geraldine Guinness in China (now Mrs. Howard Taylor), third edition (Morgan and Scott, Paternoster Buildings, E.C., 1901) ;—*The Settlement after the War in South Africa*, by M. J. Farrelly, LL.D. (Macmillan and Co., London, 1900) ;—*Apollonius of Tyana, the Philosopher-Reformer of the First Century A.D. : A Critical Study of the only Existing Record of his Life, with some Account of the War of Opinion Concerning Him, and an Introduction on the Religious Associations and Brotherhoods of the Times, and the Possible Influence of Indian Thought on Greece*, by G. R. S. Mead, B.A., M.R.A.S. (London and Benares Theosophical Publishing Company, 1901) ;—*A Pāli Reader, with Notes and Glossary*, by Dines Andersen, PH.D., Assistant Librarian of the University, Copenhagen ; Part I.—texts and notes (London : Luzac and Co.) ;—*Armenia Travels and Studies*, vol. ii.—The Turkish Provinces, by H. F. B. Lynch ; in two volumes, with 197 illustrations, maps, plans, and a map of Armenia and adjacent countries ; also *Three Lectures on the Vedānta Philosophy*, delivered at the Royal Institution in March, 1894, by Right Hon. F. Max Müller, R.M., new impression (Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1901) ;—*China under the Search-light*, by William Arthur Cornaby, editor of the *Chung-si-chiao-hui-pao*, etc. (London : T. Fisher Unwin, 1901) ;—*The Chinese Crisis from Within*, by Wen Ching, edited by Rev. G. M. Reith, M.A. (Edin.) (Grant Richards, London, 1901) ;—*India in the Nineteenth Century*, by Demetrius C. Boulger (Horace Marshall and Son, London, 1901) ;—*The Thirteen Colonies*, by Helen Ainslie Smith, in two parts ; Part I.—Virginia, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York ; Part II.—New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Rhode Island, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London, The Knickerbocker Press, 1901) ;—*The Civilizing Race*, by E. M. Bense (Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co., Ltd., London, 1901) ;—*From Cyprus to Zanzibar by the Egyptian Delta : the Adventures of a Journalist in the Isle of Love, the Home of Miracles, and the Land of Cloves*, by Edward Vizetelly, war correspondent (C. Arthur Pearson, Ltd., London, 1901) ;—*Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*, by Dadabhai Naoroji (Swan Sonnenschein and Co., Ltd., London, 1901) ;—*Fables and Folk-tales from an Eastern Forest*, collected and translated by Walter Skeat, M.A., etc. ; also *Travel in the First Century after Christ, with Special Reference to Asia Minor*, by Caroline A. J. Skeel (London : C. J. Clay and Sons, and Cambridge University Press, 1901).

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA : GENERAL.—His Excellency the Viceroy starts on a tour about the end of this month through Assam and Burma, which will conclude about the middle of December.

The result of the monsoon, which set in early in July last, has been good, rains having fallen over most parts of the country, but they are generally largely below the average. The number of persons in receipt of relief early last month was : Bombay, 403,000 ; Bombay Native States, 39,000 ; Baroda, 26,000 ; Haidarabad, 8,000 ; Central India States, 3,000 ; Central Provinces, 4,000 ; Maisūr, 2,000—total, 485,000.

The net revenue, according to the Budget estimate of 1901-02, is £42,322,700, and the net expenditure £41,631,800.

The total number of persons reported to have died during the famine year was 1,000,000, three-fourths of whom belonged to the Bombay Presidency.

Sir Charles Rivaz, K.C.S.I., has been appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjāb in succession to Sir Mackworth Young, K.C.S.I., whose tenure of office expires in March next.

Mr. Denzil Ibbetson, C.S.I., has been appointed a Member of the Council of the Governor-General to fill the vacancy caused by the above appointment.

The Land Revenue Bill has passed the Bombay Legislative Council by fourteen votes to nine.

The Indian postal returns for the year ending March 31 last show that the number of articles posted had increased by 4·57 per cent. compared with 1899-1900, the totals being approximately 532,282,000 against 509,006,000. Unregistered letters rose by over 8,000,000, postcards by nearly 12,000,000, and newspapers by 1,500,000. The only decrease was 1·42 per cent. in registered parcels.

The revised figures for the census of the Panjāb show a total of 20,866,847 inhabitants, an increase of 1,588,922 on the total for 1891.

A one-crore loan has been subscribed five and a half times over. The average rate was 97 rupees 4 annas 10 pice, the *minimum* accepted being 97 rupees 4 annas.

The plague returns for the week ending September 14 last show a mortality of 6,386 against 4,822 during the previous week, and 1,136 during the similar period in 1900. The deaths were mainly in the Bombay Presidency.

INDIA : FRONTIER.—It is expected that the North-West Frontier Province will be ready for detachment from the Panjāb at the beginning of next month (November).

Mahsuds attacked a Sikh frontier outpost on July 10, killing two men and carrying off their rifles and ammunition, and wrecked the telegraph line between Nagandi-Oba and Sarwakai for a distance of two miles.

On July 13 and 14, 350 Sikhs were sent to resist an impending raid in

the Sarwakai district. Thirty raiders were discovered and dispersed; none, however, were captured.

On July 20 a large band of Mahsuds attacked a Militia post at Dargai-Oba, but were beaten off. A party of Militia on July 21, on its way from Wana to Tiarza, was attacked. One Sepoy was killed, and two wounded.

During a raid made by about 200 Mahsud Waziris on the post of Kashmir Kar, in the Gomal Pass, held by thirty men of the Waziristan Militia, four of the garrison were killed and four wounded, and all rifles, ammunition, and supplies carried off.

INDIA: NATIVE STATES.—The ruler of Nepal has dismissed his Prime Minister, Deb Shamshir, and installed his brother, Chandra Shamshir, in his place. The ex-Minister is on the Darjeeling frontier under surveillance. He had been desirous of introducing reforms which were not acceptable to the people.

Her Highness, Sultan Jahan, has been installed as Begum of Bhopal. Her Highness's husband has at the same time been recognised as Nawab Consort.

His Highness Bhavsinhji, Maharaja of Bhavnagar, has sent a cheque for Rs. 10,000 to the Bombay Victoria Memorial Fund as his contribution.

Sir Sheshadri Iyar, recently retired Diwan of Maisur, died at Bangalore on September 13.

The coinage of rupees in the Indian mints is now stopped, except for some Native States.

The Maharaja of Panna, a small State of Bundelkhand, has been suspended from the exercise of his powers by order of the Government, and removed to Sutna. Facts have come to light tending to implicate the Maharaja in connection with the death of his uncle, who died suddenly a few months ago.

PERSIA.—The existence of a widespread revolutionary movement is reported, owing to the Government having entered into loan negotiations with Russia. A minor state of siege has been proclaimed in the capital and its environs. Feeling of excitement is strong against the Grand Vizier, who is charged with selling his country and failing to introduce reforms. This has been officially contradicted by the Persian Legation in London.

A Convention has been signed between the Persian and British Governments for the construction of a three-wire telegraph line from Kashan to British Baluchistan via Yezd, Kirman and Bampur, on conditions similar to those of the Convention of 1872 for a telegraph line from Teheran to Bushire.

The Hon. Henry Napier, I.S.C., has been appointed Military Attaché to H.M.'s Legation in Teheran.

AFGHANISTAN.—The latest reports from Kabul state that the Amir held a public durbar at Bāgh-i-Bālā on August 18, on the twenty-first anniversary of his accession to the throne. His Highness's health shows considerable improvement, although old age is making its effects felt.

Fighting has occurred at Peiwar, at the upper end of the Kuram Valley,

between the Amir's troops and the Jagi tribe. The Jagis, who were defeated and fled over the border, have been ordered by the Indian authorities to move further down the valley, and the Afghans have been warned not to transgress the frontier.

**TURKEY IN ASIA.**—A force of British and Indian troops was despatched from Aden in July last to demolish a Turkish fort at Ad-Darija, seventy miles north-west of Aden, in the Haushabi country, which is under British protection. The force suffered much from heat; slight opposition was offered, and the place was blown up.

The Vali of the Hejaz, whilst making a tour of the province, was attacked by Arabs, who captured a gun from the Turkish escort.

During July and August desultory Kurdish outrages have harassed the Mūsh district. The crops have been destroyed, and over a hundred Armenians killed. An irruption of Armenian revolutionary bands from Russia has occurred, and sanguinary conflicts have taken place with Kurds and troops. The bands were defeated and fled, and the Kurds wreaked their vengeance on the Armenians of Sassūn and neighbourhood.

Later advices from Erzeroum state that shocking bloodshed, pillage and fire have taken place at Mūsh.

**RUSSIA IN ASIA.**—A junction has been effected between the Port Arthur and Chinese Eastern Railways. The work of construction on the Manchurian line is being so actively pushed forward that the rails have already been laid from the north-west line towards Port Arthur. Of the western line there only remains a little less than 300 kilometres to lay down. The junction of this line with the Siberian line will shortly be effected.

**CHINA.**—The following is the plan agreed upon for the payment of the indemnity of 450,000,000 taels with 4 per cent. interest: The amortization of the bonds to be issued will begin in 1902, and the entire liquidation of principal and interest is expected by 1940. It is thought that China will raise 20,000,000 annually. This will be used as interest, and to form a sinking fund for the ultimate liquidation of the principal. The protocol was finally accepted and signed on September 7.

Sir E. Satow is using efforts to secure the speedy punishment of the authors of the Chu-chau massacre.

The work of restoring the palace and rebuilding the business quarter of Peking is actively proceeding. The defences of the Legation quarter are now finished.

It has been decided to demolish the Taku forts.

**KOREA.**—The attempt to remove Mr. McLeavy Brown from his residence at Seoul, in the hope of thereby inducing his retirement from the Customs, which he controls till November, 1905, in the best interests of the Korean Government, has ended satisfactorily. He was lately boycotted by the Koreans and his interpreter exiled, but Mr. Brown has been restored.

The Masampho question is in abeyance. Japan has obtained within the treaty port limits a concession exactly balancing the Russian concession. Thus with fishery rights along the coast any advantage gained by Russia has been met by a compensatory advantage acquired by Japan.

**JAPAN.**—Continued rains and heavy floods have caused great damage and much loss of life.

The Minister of Commerce has sent a commission of merchants to Russia with the view of opening markets for Japanese products there.

It is stated that the Government has practically decided on a scheme of naval and military reorganization, in which it is provided that the Ministers for the Army and Navy, instead of being necessarily officers on the active list, may be civilians sharing full responsibility with their colleagues in the Cabinet. The scheme also provides that the chief of the Military and Naval Bureau shall be independent of the Ministers in strategical questions, and responsible only to the Emperor as the Chief of the Staff.

**PHILIPPINES.**—The new Philippine tariff has been drawn up. It is estimated that it will produce annually \$15,000,000, and be the means of materially reducing the imports from all countries, except from the United States and Spain.

General Bellarmino and 1,000 men have laid down their arms.

**NEW GUINEA.**—The Rev. James Chalmers and Mr. Tomkins have been murdered by natives and their bodies eaten.

**EGYPT: LOWER.**—His Highness the Khedive paid a visit to Constantinople in July last.

His Majesty the King has conferred the dignity of an Earldom upon Viscount Cromer, G.C.B., His Majesty's Agent and Consul-General in Egypt.

The total number of plague cases throughout Egypt from April 1 to July 21 last was ninety-one, of which thirty ended fatally and thirty-five were cured.

**EGYPT: SUDAN.**—The Sirdar, Sir Reginald Wingate, has made a series of inspections throughout the extensive Sudan provinces. Posts have been established in the Bahr-el-Ghazal by an Anglo-Egyptian force. This was in pursuance of the arrangement by which, after the fall of Omdurman, the Khedive resumed all his rights in the Sudan.

**ABYSSINIA.**—The Abyssinian expedition against the "Mad" Mulla has been withdrawn. It failed to discover the Mulla, but it won a victory over a powerful tribe which supported him. The Mulla himself was routed on July 17 last after sharp fighting, in which Lieutenant Frederichs and twelve men were killed and Lieutenant Dickinson and twenty men wounded. The enemy lost seventy killed.

**NATAL.**—Sir Henry Bale, the Attorney-General, has been appointed Chief Justice of Natal in succession to Sir Michael Gallwey.

The Budget of the ORANGE RIVER COLONY, from the date of its occupation to June 30 last, shows that the receipts amounted to £402,925 and the expenditure to £386,038.

**RHODESIA.**—The Colony has made distinct progress in spite of the war, and agricultural prospects are improving. A department is about to be established to regulate the importation and employment of labour, the present supply being inadequate.

**MASHONALAND.**—The country has produced £400,000 worth of gold, and it is expected that next year that amount will be trebled. The proposed expenditure for the ensuing year is £738,000.



**SOUTH AFRICA: SEAT OF WAR.**—The operations lately conducted by Lord Kitchener are slowly wearing down the resistance of the Boers who still remain in the field. On August 16 he issued a proclamation that as the Government is determined to end the aimless prolongation of bloodshed and destruction, all leaders of armed bands still resisting the British forces, and all members of the Governments of the late Republics, shall, unless they surrendered before September 15, be permanently banished from South Africa, and the cost of the maintenance of the families of the burghers who did not surrender by that date would be charged upon their property.

In order to put a stop to the practice of train-wrecking, it was decided to compel prominent Dutchmen, whose well-known tendencies cause them to be selected for the honour, to accompany passenger trains running through dangerous districts.

The result of Lord Kitchener's proclamation has not had as yet the desired effect upon the bands of Boers still in the field, who are, however, kept continually harassed by our columns.

Of the old Transvaal Government Executive, only Messrs. Schalk Burger and Reitz remain in the field; Joubert died, Cronje is a prisoner, and De Kock was killed. Thirteen of the twenty-seven members of the First Volksraad have been accounted for—Barnard Labuschagne and Malan were killed, Tosen died, Wolmarans is a prisoner, and eight others have surrendered. About half the members of the Second Volksraad have thus been disposed of. The whereabouts of all the heads of the State Departments, with the exception of Smuts, is known—three are in Europe, two are prisoners, and fourteen have surrendered.

On September 5 Colonel Scobell, who had been pursuing a commando under Lotter, overtook and captured it. The prisoners include Commandants Lotter and Breedt, Field-Cornets J. and W. Kruger, and Lieutenant Shoeman. Delarey's and Kemp's commandos to the west of Rustenburg scattered without fighting on the approach of columns under Lord Methuen and others. Colonel Crabbe also attacked and completely defeated Van der Merwe's commando at Driefontein, when Field-Cornet du Plessis and many others were taken prisoners.

**WEST AFRICA.**—The Amir of Adamawa has been paralyzing trade on the Binuè River. A powerful punitive expedition under Lieutenant-Colonel Morland, Acting-Commandant of Northern Nigeria, has started for Yola, the Amir's headquarters, which is about 500 miles from Lokoya.

**MOROCCO.**—The terms of a convention concluded in Paris are as follows: The recognition by Morocco of accomplished facts in Southern Algeria; the reorganization of a special police for frontier incidents; abandonment of the Sahara by Morocco; early opening of new regions to French trade; access to the French oasis on the west side by the organization at Maghzen of the new tribes ceded to France; and the possibility of actively pushing forward the construction of the south-western railway under conditions which will diminish the expenses of the Budget.

The country is generally in a state of great unrest, owing to the absolute

lack of government. Many tribes are engaged in open warfare with each other and amongst themselves.

Mehdi, brother of Sid Gharnit, the Grand Vizier, has been appointed Minister of Justice. Menebhi is Minister of War.

Latest advices say that the Sultan has informed the Powers of the inauguration of a new system of taxation, which he believes will, to a great extent, protect the natives from extortion and abuse. The Governors will no longer collect the taxes, but special officials will be appointed for this purpose.

CANADA.—The last census returns show the population to be 5,338,883, an increase of 505,644.

The trade of the colony for the fiscal year ended June 30 last was the largest in her history. The value of goods imported amounted to \$181,225,389, being an increase of \$273,955 on the preceding year, and the exports amounted to \$177,241,115, an increase of \$15,326,244.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—The Budget shows a surplus of \$336,000 for the two fiscal years ended June, 1900. For the year ended June 30 last a surplus has been realized, but the amount is not estimated, as the accounts for the last four months are not yet closed. For the year ending June, 1902, there is an estimated surplus of \$30,000.

The Legislature closed early in August.

The Reid Railway Bill has been passed. The Government propose to instal the Marconi system of telegraphy along the Labrador coast.

NEW SOUTH WALES.—The revenue for the year ended June 30 last amounted to £10,794,233, an increase of £590,302 over the preceding year, in spite of the deductions on account of the Commonwealth. The revenue for July and August last shows an increase of £117,000 as compared with the corresponding period of 1900.

At the elections the Labour candidates have been successful.

The recent rains which have fallen throughout the colony have greatly benefited agricultural, pastoral and mining interests, and give promise of a good harvest. The same may be said of Victoria, South Australia, Queensland and Tasmania. Many districts suffering from drought have thus been relieved.

VICTORIA.—The revenue for the year ended June 30 last was £8,087,264, showing an increase of £638,856.

Sir George Clarke has been appointed Governor.

The Federal tariff, now under consideration of the Cabinet, is expected to produce an annual revenue of £8,700,000.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.—His Honour Judge Stone has been appointed Chief Justice of Western Australia in succession to Sir A. C. Onslow, who has resigned.

TASMANIA.—The surplus of revenue for 1900 amounted to £131,000. The new Budget has been favourably received, and a determination has been shown to adapt the financial and public works policy to the new Federal conditions.

Their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall arrived at Hobart from New Zealand on July 2, and were warmly received. After

visiting Western Australia they proceeded to the Mauritius, Durban and Pietermaritzburg in Natal, Cape Town, and finally reached Quebec in Canada on September 16. They were everywhere received with the greatest enthusiasm.

**SOUTH AUSTRALIA.**—The revenue for the year ended June 30 last, the largest on record, amounted to £2,818,712, showing an increase of £37,854. The expenditure exceeded the revenue by £22,000, which was principally due to the despatch of the South African contingents and the cost of the Federal celebrations. After providing for the deficiency a surplus is expected this year of £6,000.

**NEW ZEALAND.**—Parliament was opened on July 2. The Federation Commission have reported against federation with Australia.

The Government has proposed the establishment in London, as an Imperial memorial of Queen Victoria, of a Technical University, open to the whole Empire.

The finances are a cause for anxiety. It is probable that a loan of £3,000,000 will be required in addition to the £2,000,000 already authorized.

The Budget shows an estimated revenue of £5,896,000 and an expenditure of £5,763,000. The liabilities of the Public Works Fund to March last was £1,200,000; the year's transactions show a deficit of £70,000.

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*Obituary.*—The deaths have been recorded during this quarter of the following:—His Highness the Elaya Raja of Travancore (heir to the Maharaja);—H. H. Lakshmi Bayi, elder sister of the Maharaja of Travancore;—The Maharaj Rana of Dholpur;—Lieutenant-General Sir F. B. Norman, I.S.C. (Mutiny, Umbeyla campaign, Bhutan 1864-66, Black Mountain expedition, Afghan war 1878-80, Burmese war 1885-86);—Mr. F. G. Hall, British East Africa Protectorate (Kafir war, Basuto campaign, Bechuanaland 1880-85);—The Hon. Nawab Muhammad Hayat Khan, C.S.I., of Wah, member of the Panjāb Legislative Council;—Kunwar Jwala Prasad, of the Statutory Civil Service;—Captain A. Le Mesurier Bray, R.A. (Chitrāl Relief Force 1895);—Sir Thomas Galt, formerly Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, Ontario;—Commander Philip Wright, R.N. (China 1900);—Major-General F. M. Birch, I.S.C. (Mutiny campaign, North-West Frontier 1863-64);—Mr. John Fiske, the well-known American writer on philosophy and history;—Dr. Johannes Schmidt, a professor of Indo-Germanic philology;—Major-General Charles Andrews, late 72nd Bengal Native Infantry (Panjāb campaign 1848-49, Bundelkhand 1859);—Dr. R. Domenichetti, Hon. Deputy Inspector-General Army Medical Department, and Hon. Physician to the King (Indian Mutiny campaign);—Captain H. J. R. Lowe, late 40th Bengal Infantry (Burma 1852-53, Crimea);—Captain J. S. Roche (Nile expedition 1884-85, Sudan 1885-86);—Lieutenant C. V. Keyes, Queen's Own Corps of Guides, murdered in West Africa (Tirah 1899);—Dr. T. B. Purchas, R.N. (Japan 1863);—Colonel S. B. Horne, late Bengal Army (Bhutan expedition 1885-86, Afghan war 1880, Mahsud Waziri

expedition 1881, Burma 1886-87);—Colonel Joshua Harry Cooper, late 7th Fusiliers (Crimea);—Sir Richard Southey of Cape Colony (Kafir war 1834-35);—Mr. R. G. Oxenham, M.A., late of the Indian Educational Service;—Surgeon-Major F. Robinson (Crimea);—Mr. Arnot Reid, for some years editor of the *Straits Times*;—Major Melville, late Bombay Staff Corps (Afghan war 1879-80);—Major W. E. Wimble, Commissariat Department (Burma 1885-89);—Sir Harry Dias, formerly Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court of Ceylon and head of the Sinhalese nation;—Major-General F. T. Haig, late R.E. (Bengal Irrigation);—Rear-Admiral H. M. Beamish (India, Burma 1851-52, Baltic 1855, China 1858, etc.);—Sir John McKenzie, K.C.M.G. (formerly of the New Zealand House of Representatives);—Sir Virgile Naz, member Government Council, Mauritius;—Lieutenant-Colonel A. Oldham (Bhutan war 1864-65, Afghan war 1878-79, Burmese war 1886-87);—Mr. Alastair Davidson, Chief Justice of Northern Nigeria;—Major-General W. S. Richardson, C.B. (Indian Mutiny campaign, Egypt 1882, Nile expedition 1884-85);—Major-General J. F. Sherer (Panjāb campaign and Mutiny 1857);—Major C. B. Jervis-Edwards, Duke of Cornwall's L.I. in South Africa (Wuntho expedition 1891);—Archbishop Goethals, of the Roman Catholic Church in India;—Mr. E. Solbè, formerly of the Consular Service in China;—Lieutenant-Colonel W. Loch, Political Department, India (Afghan war 1879-80);—Rear-Admiral J. H. Bainbridge (China 1860-62, Abyssinia);—Surgeon-General C. R. Francis, formerly Principal, Medical College of Calcutta;—Captain M. G. B. Fitzgerald, a Military Knight of Windsor (Crimea, Mutiny campaign);—Hon. W. H. Groom, Queensland Legislative Assembly;—Lieutenant-Colonel D. W. Becher, formerly of the Indian Army (Panjāb campaign 1848-49, Mutiny 1857);—Colonel E. R. Cottingham, R.A. (Indian Mutiny campaign, Egypt 1882);—Professor Alexander Thomson, Principal of Agra College;—Sir Charles Reid, G.C.B., K.C.B., formerly of the Hon. East India Company's Service (Upper Sind 1843, Burma 1852-53, Mutiny 1857, Oude campaign 1858-59);—Mr. Clement S. Colvin, C.S.I., late of the India Office;—Colonel G. D. C. Gastrell, I.S.C., 8th Regt. Rajput Bengal Infantry (Afghan war 1879-80, Hissarik valley expedition);—Mr. John R. Kindersley, of the Madras Civil Service, retired;—Rev. John May, of the Central African Mission of the London Missionary Society;—Major Raoul Guy Richard de Vismes de Ponthieu, 10th Bombay L.I. and H.M.'s Consul for Pondicherry and Karikal (Chital relief expedition);—Major Mordaunt Lea Shipley, of the Indian Staff Corps (Afghan war 1879-80, North-West Frontier campaign 1897-98);—Major-General A. G. Davidson, Indian Army (retired), a justice of the peace in New Zealand;—Major-General W. A. Baker, Royal (late Bombay) Engineers;—Mr. Charles Meldrum, C.M.C., late Director of the Royal Alfred Observatory, Mauritius;—Resildar-Major Bahā-ud-din Khān, of the Central India Horse, one of the most distinguished native officers in the Indian army;—General J. E. Cordner, R.A. (Bengal) (Trans-Indus Frontier 1854-59, Indian Mutiny, Cossyah Hill campaign 1862-63, Bhutan 1864-65);—Colonel J. A. McNeale, late 8th Bengal Cavalry (Afghan war 1878-80);—Major C. G. F. Edwards, 5th Panjāb Cavalry (Miranzai expeditions of 1891, North-West Frontier

campaign 1897);—Lieutenant-Colonel C. F. S. Vandeleur, D.S.O., Irish Guards, killed in South Africa (Unyoro expedition 1895, Nandi expedition 1895-96, Sudan 1898);—Hon. Septimus A. Stephen, a very prominent Australian;—Lieutenant-Colonel E. C. Haynes, late 93rd Highlanders (Indian campaign 1857-59, Eusofzai campaign 1863-64, Zulu war 1879, Boer war 1881);—Lieutenant-Colonel J. J. Swinton, late R.A. (Afghan war 1878-80);—General J. F. Macandrew, of the late Hon. East India Company's Service, Indian Staff Corps (Mutiny campaign);—Sir Joseph Palmer Abbott, formerly Speaker of the New South Wales Legislative Assembly;—Captain Thomas de Winton, late Royal Horse Artillery (Canadian rebellion);—Major W. R. Little, I.S.C., Hong-Kong Regiment (second Miranzai expedition, Abor expedition 1894, Malakand 1897-98);—Colonel J. Collinson, C.B., at Kassala (Zulu campaign, Boer war 1881, Dongola campaign 1896, Nile operations 1897);—Sir Sheshadri Iyar, late Diwan of Maisur;—Major-General J. Bartleman, I.S.C., retired (Central India campaign 1857-58, China 1860, North-West Frontier 1863, Hazara campaign 1868, Jowaki Afridi 1877, Egyptian war 1882).

*September 23, 1901.*





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